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OF
THE ANGLICAN CONGRESS

Minneapolis

1954.



EDITOR

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ANGLICAN



CONGRESS

1954

Theme:

THE CALL OF GOD
AND
THE MISSION OF THE
ANGLICAN COMMUNION

Topics:

I OUR VOCATION II OUR WORSHIP III OUR MESSAGE
IV OUR WORK

CHURCHES OF
THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

The Church of England
The Church in Wales
The Church of Ireland
The Episcopal Church in Scotland
The Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.
The Church of England in Canada
The Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon
The Church of England in Australia and Tasmania
The Church of the Province of New Zealand
The Church of the Province of South Africa
The Church of the Province of the West Indies
The Nippon Sei Ko Kwai
The Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui
The Church of the Province of West Africa

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A list of Congress Committees in full will be found in Appendix I.

FOREWORD

The Anglican Congress is now an event in history. But the Committee in charge of the planning of this Congress wisely felt that the proceedings should reach a far wider constituency than those who attended, so under the able editorship of the Rev. Dr. P. M. Dawley this volume has been prepared. This should prove valuable to delegates who will be reporting to their various Provinces and Churches. In addition, this *Report* will remain as a permanent record of fruitful and happy days spent together.

The papers and findings speak for themselves, and I do not intend to attempt an evaluation of them in this brief Foreword. Unfortunately the printed word cannot carry to readers the atmosphere, the many informal conversations and the great friendliness of the Congress. These by-products, so to speak, have been invaluable in uniting the various branches of our far-flung Communion in closer ties of mutual trust and affection. All that has been said in this regard previously has been proved in these days to be true. Although of many racial and national backgrounds, we are in a very real sense a family in Christ.

The papers and the discussions without exception have been of unusually thoughtful and high calibre. What has impressed most of us deeply has been the emphasis upon the great central truths which unite us. Of course there are differences of opinions, and so-called tensions, but these, without the slightest attempt to force any artificial agreement, have fallen into their proper secondary position. In a time of world-wide disorder, this Congress, without evading any of the realities, has given evidence of sanity, cohesion and a common deep conviction as to the mission of the Anglican Communion as a part of the task and opportunity of the world-wide Church of Christ. The Congress has truly been ecumenical in spirit.

Our hope is that the delegates to the Congress, with the help of this book, may find it possible to communicate to our people at home something of this outlook and point of view. We have been inspired by a new realization of the greatness of our heritage from our fathers. But we have not been content to rest upon the glories of this past. We look with confidence and hope to the future. We have not been

unmindful of the dangers of the present, or the suffering and privation of many of our people, but there has been also a note of a deep and abiding joy in the service of the Risen and Victorious Christ.

As Presiding Bishop of the Church in the United States I am grateful to so many—the Bishop of Connecticut and the able members of the Congress Committees, the Bishops of Minnesota and all our wonderfully generous hosts and hostesses. Especially we in the United States would wish to thank all those who have journeyed so far to be with us.

As a result of these days, with strengthened will and purpose we can pray that we may be more effective disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ.

HENRY KNOX SHERRILL

Presiding Officer of the Congress

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INTRODUCTION

BY

THE RT. REV. WALTER H. GRAY, D.D.

*Bishop of Connecticut
Episcopal Secretary of the Congress*

To understand fully the background of the Anglican Congress held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, U.S.A., from August fourth to thirteenth, 1954, it will be helpful to recall something of the history and organization of the world-wide fellowship of Churches commonly known as the *Anglican Communion*.¹

Before the year 1783, when the first American diocese was founded in Connecticut, there were no organized dioceses of the Anglican Communion outside the British Isles, though the Church of England had been planted overseas during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the chaplaincies in British India and in the parishes of the North American Colonies. In the nineteenth century, however, growth was extraordinarily rapid, and more than two hundred new dioceses and missionary districts were created in territories ranging from the Arctic to Australia, and from the West Indies to Japan. Today this Church is established on every continent and among people of every race, numbering its membership as more than forty millions.

The pattern of expansion has been that the new sections of the Church, once fully formed, have been national in their organization and autonomous in their government. There is no joint central executive or legislative body in the Anglican Communion. No one archbishop or bishop is supreme, and no national Church has authority or jurisdiction over any other. A special position of honor is accorded to

¹ The separate Churches of the Anglican Communion, united with each other by a common tradition of faith, church order, and worship, are: The Church of England; The Church in Wales; The Church of Ireland; The Episcopal Church in Scotland; The Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.; The Church of England in Canada; The Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon; The Church of England in Australia and Tasmania; The Church of the Province of New Zealand; The Church of the Province of South Africa; The Church of the Province of the West Indies; The Nippon Sei Ko Kwai; The Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui; and The Church of the Province of West Africa. In addition, there are a number of extra-provincial missionary dioceses of the Church of England still under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, though in some groups of these—notably in Central Africa—plans for the organization of separate Provinces are well under way.

the Archbishop of Canterbury as head of the primatial See of the mother Church of England, and the test of membership in the Anglican Communion has traditionally been whether or not a diocese is in communion with the See of Canterbury. It is this background that gives this Church on the world scene the name *Anglican*, though the actual titles of the different Churches vary a great deal. The word *Anglican*, therefore, in this context, no longer means simply *English*, but has come to be a term for the particular embodiment of the historic faith, order, and worship of the Catholic Church that is the heritage of this Communion.

Despite their canonical independence of each other, the various Churches have always recognized their common ties, their need of fellowship one with another, and the necessity of maintaining the standards of faith and order which are the marks of their unity. Out of these needs grew the conferences of Anglican bishops, the first of which was held in 1867 at Lambeth Palace, the London residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Eight Lambeth Conferences have been held, the most recent being in 1948. The bishops at these meetings have been concerned with a multitude of questions such as those of faith and order, Christian unity, war and peace, and other religious, social, moral, and economic matters.

In recent years, with the accelerated growth of the Anglican Communion and the rapid establishment of new dioceses and missionary areas, the problems confronting the Church have likewise increased. It became clear to many that intervals of ten years or more between Lambeth Conferences gave the Churches insufficient opportunity to take common counsel in the face of the rapidly changing problems of the modern age. Moreover, since in our national Churches the priests and members of the laity share with the bishops the responsibility of decision in matters affecting our welfare, it was inevitable that there should come about a recognition that the clerical and lay representatives should share with the bishops the responsibilities of international gatherings.

The Lambeth Conference of 1948 welcomed the suggestion "that a Congress representative of the Anglican Communion be held."² No such comparable gathering had taken place since the Pan-Anglican Congress held in London in 1908, and accordingly the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1949 extended an invitation for such a Congress to meet in the United States. The offer of hospitality graciously extended by the Bishop and the Diocese of Minnesota was accepted. Invited to the Congress were the bishops of

² *The Lambeth Conference 1948* (London: SPCK, 1948), [Part I], p. 48.

each diocese and missionary district of the Communion, together with one priest and one lay delegate from each.

The Anglican Congress of 1954 marks a new era in the history of the Anglican Communion in that it is the first representative gathering of the Church held outside the British Isles. This is a recognition both of the world-wide character of our Communion, and that the Anglican Communion is now an international family of Churches, independent in government, but unified in fellowship and in adherence to common traditions of faith and order, and the *Book of Common Prayer*.

The many problems of our work, our worship, and our message discussed during the Congress appear in the addresses contained in this *Report*. They reflect our Church's effort to apply Christianity to the problems of our time, to seek improvements in our services of worship, and to meet the challenge of changing conditions in our mission fields.

The most important phase of the Congress has been the privilege of worshipping together and finding at the altar of God the best basis for bringing together men of all races and from all continents. Each morning the Holy Communion has been celebrated in accordance with the rite and by the clergy of a different national Church. The great opening and closing services and the missionary mass meeting gave outward and visible indication of what it means for people to be one in Christ through the fellowship of the Anglican Communion.

Positive values should accrue from this Anglican Congress in the form of greater knowledge of each other's problems and the discovery of better methods of meeting them; but perhaps the most important and abiding result of the Congress may be the spirit of Christian understanding and fellowship which has come to us when over six hundred and fifty delegates from our world-wide Church have met together for ten days, seeking the guidance of our Lord and Master in doing His work in our critical times.

THE OPENING OF THE CONGRESS

MINNEAPOLIS 1954

All day Wednesday, August 4, delegates to the Anglican Congress, their wives, and visitors poured into the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul by train, automobile, and airplane. Minneapolis, an attractive city of over a half million people, its streets lined with shade trees and its parks studded with lakes and ponds, was at its best for the visitors from every quarter of the world. Even the summer weather remained unexpectedly cool during the entire ten days of the Congress.

The delegates reported for registration at The Cathedral Church of St. Mark, one of the three cathedrals of the Diocese of Minnesota, in the parish house of which all Congress administration was centered. Few members of a great congress can ever have been greeted by such efficient arrangements as those devised for the comfort and convenience of the delegates by the Minnesota Committee. Hundreds of Congress members and visitors were registered with remarkable speed, and guided to the warm welcome that awaited them at hotels, in Pioneer Hall at the University of Minnesota, in private houses where many were hospitably entertained, and in other places to which they were assigned. While the smooth operation of every aspect of the local Committee's work gave evidence of months of careful planning and hard labor, the work of the Transportation Committee can only be described as little short of miraculous. A car pool, in which nearly fifteen hundred volunteer drivers participated during the sessions of the Congress, transported the delegates daily to and from the private homes in which many of them were guests; a regular bus schedule was maintained between the center of activity at The Cathedral and Pioneer Hall.

By evening nearly all the 657 delegates had arrived, and at 8:00 P.M. they assembled to form in procession for the Opening Service.

THE OPENING SERVICE

Over ten thousand people crowded the Minneapolis Auditorium on Wednesday night for the great public service with which the Anglican Congress opened. The ample stage at one end of the vast auditorium had been transformed into a strikingly beautiful sanctuary on its upper level, with seats, accommodating over two hundred bishops, arranged choir-wise on either side of the broad aisle leading through the stage to the altar steps. Over the white and gold of the altar hung the emblazoned seal of the Congress against the crimson dossal. On the lower level of the stage apron, on either side of the central pulpit, chairs were placed for the Primates, Presiding Bishops, and Archbishops.

The procession of over 650 delegates entered the Auditorium led by the choir of The Cathedral Church of St. Mark. Representatives of each of the Churches and Provinces in the Communion marched in a body, lay delegates, clergy and bishops, preceded by the colorful banners identifying them. The final section of the procession was led by the Bishop of Minnesota, attended by his chaplains, followed by the Archbishops, Presiding Bishops and Primates, the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Archbishop of Canterbury, with their chaplains, at the end.

Few of the thousands present on that evening will forget the impressive simplicity of the service or the moving spirit of praise and thanksgiving in which the delegates from all over the world joined in the hymns familiar throughout the Anglican Communion.

A Special Service

SET FORTH FOR THE USE AT THE

OPENING OF THE ANGLICAN CONGRESS

THE MINNEAPOLIS AUDITORIUM

Wednesday, August 4, 1954, at 8 P.M.

- ¶ *As the Procession enters the Auditorium, the Congregation shall rise and shall remain standing through to the conclusion of the Doxology.*
¶ *During the Procession, the following hymns shall be sung.*

THE God of Abraham praise
Ye watchers and ye holy ones

LEONI
VIGILES ET SANCTI

- ¶ *When all in the Procession shall have come to their proper places,*
The Right Reverend the Presiding Bishop *will say*

THE BIDDING

Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

In the good Providence of God it hath pleased him to gather together, from every race and clime, brethren of our own confession and allegiance prayerfully to consider our response to the demands which our Lord Jesus Christ makes upon us in this our time, as well as for that good and joyful thing which it is for brethren to dwell together in unity; let us therefore with one heart and mind affirm the faith of Christ crucified:

- ¶ *Then shall the Congregation join The Presiding Bishop in saying*

THE APOSTLES' CREED

- ¶ *Then will The Presiding Bishop continue, saying*

Good Christian People, we have voiced together the great symbol of our Faith with its assurance of redemption and life eternal, but there remains in our hearts the deep concern we all must have for many our brethren who are suffering persecution, the obligation to pray for the great and faithful company of all Christian people who love us, as well as for those who love us not, and those who know not God as he is revealed in our Lord and Saviour. For all these, and for all who suffer

in body, mind, or spirit, through the sin of the world, let us pray in the words which the Redeemer of the world hath himself commanded and taught us:

Our Father

¶ *Then shall The Presiding Bishop conclude the Bidding, saying*

Beloved, we have voiced our faith and our prayer; it is meet that we should now yield unto God the Father high praise and hearty thanks for the glorious order of his creation, for his patience with our fathers and with us, for his care and guidance of us through his holy Word, but chiefly for the incarnation of the Blessed One, his only-begotten Son, who came into this world that all men might be saved through him forever: who having ascended on high hath not left us comfortless, but hath continued unto us a pledge of his unfailing presence in the bestowal of the Holy Spirit to the community of his redeemed; which sacred Body hath in all the earth published the glad tidings, and hath in our own communion and fellowship brought forth glorious saints and martyrs faithful even unto death. Therefore together with angels, archangels and all the company of heaven we laud and magnify his holy Name. Let us sing his praise in the words written by one of our own Bishops of blessed Memory:

THE DOXOLOGY

OLD HUNDREDTH

PRAISE God, from whom all blessings flow;
Praise him, all creatures here below;
Praise him above, ye heavenly host:
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

¶ *Then shall the Congregation be seated.*

THE LESSON *read by* The Right Reverend the Bishop of Connecticut

Hebrews 11:1

Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. For by it the elders obtained a good report. By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went. By faith he sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise. Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus

the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.

¶ *After the Lesson, the Congregation will stand and sing this hymn*

GLORIOUS things of thee are spoken

AUSTRIA

¶ *Then shall the Congregation be seated.*

ADDRESS

BY

THE RIGHT REVEREND THE PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

It is a privilege to welcome the delegates to the Anglican Congress. Ever since the Lambeth Conference of 1948 when the Congress was first proposed, we in the United States have looked forward to this occasion and hour. This gathering is a living witness to the remarkable growth and vitality of the Anglican Communion. Here representatives of many millions of our Church people of many nations and races have come together from the uttermost parts of the earth to what, no doubt, seems to some the uttermost parts of the earth. As has so often been stated, truly we are united not by compulsion but by a common faith and heritage as well as by ties of mutual affection. Never before has this been more true than today. For much of this we are indebted to His Grace, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, whose warmth of friendship and wise understanding of the problems of others have helped to draw us together. We trust that this Congress will result in the strengthening of these great, if invisible, ties.

The subject chosen for our gathering is *The Call of God and the Mission of the Anglican Communion*. God speaks to us as individuals, in many ways, through the still small voice of conscience, in the quiet of prayer, through the advice and counsel of friends, sometimes through the force of events beyond our control. Trying to discover the will of God is no easy task. There may be involved hours of strain in infinitely lesser degree akin to the agony in the Garden of Gethsemane. At times the decision forced upon us may seem strange, even tragic, for God's ways are not always our ways. But how many times as we have looked back have we had the realization that with all our limitations and imperfections God has led and used us. If it is at times difficult to grasp the call of God in the life of an individual, how much more

complex it is for a Communion of millions of people to hear and to obey the call of God. From the time of the Apostles, the Church has been made up literally of all kinds and conditions of people. Through the centuries there have been manifestations of sacrifice, of heroism, of supreme devotion; yet, too, there have been incidents of cruelty and of selfishness. We have to deal not only with Peter but with Judas, not only with St. Francis but with the fact of the Inquisition.

In the life of our Communion, take periods such as that of the sixteenth century in England or the eighteenth century in this country. Again we find a strange mixture of the wise, the stupid, the good, and the evil. Yet out of that confused sixteenth century emerged the Church of England, Catholic in retaining unbroken continuity with the Apostolic Church, yet reformed in discarding irrelevant and false beliefs and practices. The history of the Church in this country reveals something of a similar pattern. Leaderless, misunderstood, scattered, with many cross currents of good and of evil, nevertheless through the support of missionary-minded clergy and people in England, notably the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, through the vision and the devotion of many here in the United States, the Church struggled through the Colonial and Revolutionary periods to become the Church of the United States today, with its millions of communicants at home and abroad. The point is that as we look back with the advantage of hindsight, we can see that God has led us sometimes in spite of ourselves. We can have the conviction that God has forged a mission for the Anglican Communion and have given us a trust. Today there can be no complacent pietistic assumption that God's call will be easy to hear and to follow. There will be discussion, trial and error, success and failure, the good and the less good. We are not to be cocksure, but humble with the prayer that God will use us as He did our fathers. We are not a monarchical or an authoritarian Church in the strict use of these words. We are a democratic Church by conviction and practice, believing that God calls to the fellowship of the Church. Through the fusion of the guidance of many, in the crucible of common worship and conference, God speaks to and through the great company of faithful people.

It is, I believe, in that spirit that we meet here and now. In this comparatively brief address, I do not intend to attempt a preview of later papers and discussion. Rather I wish to emphasize certain major considerations we must keep always in view.

Today is a time of urgency which demands the utmost realism. There is always a temptation to live in an ecclesiastical ivory tower, removed from the awful strains of contemporary life. If there was

ever a time when this luxury could be afforded, it is certainly not now. We live in a world of the hydrogen, and perhaps cobalt, bomb. The possibility of the end of the world is not so tragic. Christians have always known that we are sojourners and pilgrims and that we have here no continuing city. The tragic circumstances are connected with human sin, hatred, lust for power, which cause a divided world and the misuse of what could prove to be one of the greatest of God's gifts to mankind. We come from many backgrounds. Of course, as a result we look at the world scene from different angles and through varied experiences. It is well that this is true, that we may have not a partial, but complete expression. It is essential, to achieve this wholeness, that we be absolutely frank with one another as we attempt to bring our world and ourselves before the judgment of God. Certainly, urgency is of the essence. Not since the Roman Empire has there been an organized world force devoted to the destruction of all that is most precious to us in life and in death. If there is no room for despair, certainly there is no place for ease in Zion. The evils in our world and in ourselves will not be overcome by a half-hearted marginal faith. As we face the world of our time realistically, so in the same way we must face our commitment individually and as a Communion to the call of God through Jesus Christ.

If we must be realistic in regard to the stern facts of the world scene, we must be equally so in regard to the state of the Christian Church. The Body of Christ is broken into many pieces. We can be grateful to God for the increased co-operation brought about in recent years through the growth of the Ecumenical Movement. Many of us will be going from Minneapolis to Evanston. But the increased co-operation must not satisfy us. The goal, though difficult to achieve, is the unity of the Church. Amid the dangers and perplexities of the present, it is not difficult to understand the appeal to isolationism. Politically this point of view gains considerable support in many parts of the world, though it is increasingly unreal and impractical.

In the Church we also have ecclesiastical isolationists in practice if not in theory. But again this point of view ignores the facts of life, the tremendous forces arraigned against Christianity, the overwhelming convictions that the Christian Churches hold in common and the plain fact that God works His will in many ways and through many groups. Take out of the world every Communion but the Anglican and we should be in a parlous state. Isolationism springs from a sincere loyalty on the part of many to the Gospel as this Church has received the same. This loyalty we should all share, otherwise we cannot justify

even discussing the call of God to the Anglican Communion. But the isolationist also is possessed of a timidity which makes him fear that somehow by co-operation we shall betray our trust. This fear seems to me to be unjustified on every count. We are not weak in our conviction. As the Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College has recently written, "We have our treasures indeed, a Church Catholic yet reformed, her authority conspicuous for that moderation which she seeks to show forth in all things, her episcopacy constitutional, her priesthood comprehensive, her liturgy popular. These are peculiarly our own. But it is for the Church at large that we hold them and for her benefit that we must bring out of this treasure things new and old."

To these treasures I would add our emphasis upon the sacramental life which should be a unifying force amid the tensions which confront us in a chaotic age. Our contribution is warmly welcomed in the World Council of Churches, as well as in councils on the local level. The whole emphasis of the Incarnation is on giving, not keeping. God so loved the world that He gave. Nothing could be so unchristian and so unwise as to wrap our talent in a napkin and bury it in the earth in the name of preservation. We must have a view of the wholeness of the Christian Church. Anglicanism is not an end in itself; the Church, even, is not an end in herself. The glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ is, of course, the eternal as well as the present objective. We shall serve the will of God as present Anglicans, only as in all our discussions and actions we keep this patent fact before us.

Finally because of all these preceding considerations, we must keep first things first. It is not only in Palestine of two thousand years ago that the law became more important than the Gospel. Sincere and good religious people are always under the temptation of making the less important of great significance. Now of all times we must deal with the great themes, God's Redemptive Purpose, the world-wide Mission of the Church, the great Christian Hope. In this Congress we have an especial opportunity to do so. There are no canons to revise, no budget to adopt. The wind bloweth where it listeth. Many times in the past the Spirit of God has moved with power upon groups of Christian men and women seeking to know and to follow the will of God. This is our hope and prayer for this Anglican Congress, that here a spiritual fire may be rekindled, an heavenly vision seen, a divine purpose revealed which will move all our people in a tragic and momentous hour to hear and to respond to the call of God.

¶ *Following The Presiding Bishop's Address, the Congregation will stand and sing this hymn*

¶ *Then shall the Congregation be seated.*

ADDRESS

BY

THE MOST REVEREND THE LORD ARCHBISHOP
OF CANTERBURY

St. John 8, verses 31 and 32:

If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.

In the emblem or badge which has been chosen for our Anglican Congress appear the words:

ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐλευθερώσει ὑμᾶς

The truth shall make you free.

Whoever chose these words, chose well. For they take us straight to the heart of the Christian Gospel, of the Church's task in the world and of the world's predicament. God's truth and that alone can liberate men from the chains and fetters which they impose upon themselves. Man's freedom cannot be had or sustained by any man-made endeavour but only by obedience to God's truth.

Freedom without truth, or at least some reaching after truth, becomes the freedom of the Gadarene swine. It is only too easy to illustrate the way in which through history up to this very day one freedom after another, obtained by the energy and inventiveness of the questing spirit of man, but undisciplined by truth, has been cheapened or debased, till it becomes not a freedom at all but a spiritual bondage. Equally, truth without the responsibilities of freedom is not, in any significant or saving sense, truth. What the scientist knows about atomic energy is only a part of the truth. For truth in the complete and Christian sense must include not only the truth to be known, but the truth to be done; not only the scientific knowledge which can split the atom but the moral decision to use the energy so liberated only in accordance with God's will. Only truth in that sense can set men free from the fetters of their own science and of their own sin. So freedom without the restraints of truth, and truth without the free decisions of responsible action become unfreedoms and untruths, and in the proper sense de-moralizing.

As in the secular world, so too in the Church of Christ. Its chequered history shows on the one side how the *freedom* bought for us by

Christ can lose touch with the stabilising *truth* of Christian revelation, Catholic experience and personal discipleship until it becomes so formless as to be featureless, and so misguided as to be an enemy to truth. On the other side, in their passion to serve truth men can allow their sense of truth so to lose touch with the liberating elements of reason, humility and evangelical discipleship, that it comes to lack that moral probity and strength without which freedom cannot breathe.

From its first beginnings until now the whole Church has been engaged in the tensions of this twofold struggle, to keep God's revealed truth free from man-made fetters, and to keep Christian freedom always subject to God's truth. The right balance, so essential for the Church's faithful witness, has never been more than fitfully achieved. The Oecumenical Movement is a declaration of faith that Christ means it to be achieved and calls His people to reach out to it by a more faithful discipleship; it is a declaration founded on experience that no one Christian Communion can achieve this balance alone or apart from the others, and that Christ's call to all the Churches is to seek it together as a condition of a true unity of fellowship in Him.

In the search for this unity, the Anglican Communion has been fashioned both by its history and, as we deeply believe, also by the wise purposes of God to take an honourable part and to make a fruitful contribution. From St. Aidan and the Celtic Church, from St. Augustine, from Theodore of Tarsus onwards, first in England and then the world over, the history of the Anglican Communion shows it as a champion both of God's freedom and of God's truth, at one time vindicating the liberty of the Gospel against unfreedoms claiming to be truth, at another preserving the truth of Catholic faith and order against encroachments upon truth made in the name of freedom. We have failed as the rest of Christendom has failed to strike the true balance. But our history has never let us for long forget the tensions. Perhaps we hold in our one fellowship more of the diverse elements which create the tension, and live at closer quarters with them, than is the case in any other Communion in Christendom. The sense of a synthesis in Christ of truth and freedom always to be sought for, sometimes in sight, already partially and fitfully possessed, has entered deeply into the Anglican tradition.

Our corporate life draws its vitality from certain principles which are part of the living experience of the whole Catholic Church, and are appointed to be the guardians of truth and freedom. One formulation of them, which has played a great part in our own Communion and in the Church at large was first made here in the Episcopal Church of the United States and led to what is widely known as the

Lambeth Quadrilateral. Therein are named four formative possessions of the Church, namely the Scriptures, the Creeds, the Dominical Sacraments and the Ministry. Since the Creeds are only summary descriptions of the revealed truth of God's Word spoken in Christ, we may for my present purpose reduce the four terms of the Quadrilateral to three, the Scriptures, the Sacraments and the Ministry.

The Lambeth Formula was, I think, meant to set down the minimum requirements without which there could not be a properly constituted Church. Then and for long afterwards these terms were thought of in that sense, as qualifying standards which some Churches possessed and others did not and which were to be considered by the methods of theological analysis and definition and dealt with by negotiation and interchurch diplomacy.

Is it untrue to say that that stage is now passing into another in which Scriptures and Sacraments and Ministry are regarded not as qualifying tests, with a class list of passes or failures, but as creative gifts of Christ to His Church through which He might lead His Church into the fullness of freedom and truth? If we so regard them, we must agree that no Church in Christendom uses all three of these creative gifts in their right proportions to one another, or to the full extent of what Christ wants to do with them. Every one of the main Christian Communions uses each of them in some degree, and in some degree misuses them. If they are tests, no Church passes with honours the test of using Scriptures, Sacraments and Ministry wholly according to the mind of Christ. If they are creative gifts to be revealed in growing truth and freedom, then the Churches should, with humility for their own shortcomings and eagerness to help one another, be concerned above all to work out the best use of them. Indeed, the real glory of this period of the Church's history and of the Oecumenical Movement is to be found here. As the Churches draw closer together in Christian actions of fellowship, of charity, and witness to Christ, they are re-finding that the true function of these creative gifts is to be a means of growth into the life of Christ and the unity of His Church. When truth is *done*, freedom is given its increase.

Of these three gifts, in Anglican tradition as elsewhere, Scripture and Creed come first as the source and safeguard of doctrine. "If ye continue in my word," said Our Lord, "then are ye my disciples indeed and ye shall know the truth." Our surest access to the Word of Christ, His Word spoken from the first creation of the world to His coming in the flesh and on to the first consequences of His Incarnate Life, is in the Scriptures. Traditions, ideas, fashions of thought and taste succeed one another through the centuries, sometimes correcting

distortions of an earlier age, sometimes adding distortions of their own. Holy Scripture is there for all who look to Christ and for all time. All Churches use Holy Scripture; all to some extent misuse and misinterpret it. But Christ has given it to the Church to be a source of life, a perpetual fount of new vision of God and of new life in Christ. The Holy Spirit does in fact again and again, through some Church or some group of Churchmen, deliver Christendom from finding in Scripture what is *not* there and does lead Christendom again and again to rediscover for its own healing what *is* there. Is it not fact that every fruitful reformation of the Church has started from a fresh study of Biblical theology, from a new freedom of study revealing an old truth anew? And since all Church history is a continuation of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, each generation of the living Church must seek to write its own chapter of Church history in the same idiom as that of Scripture, in the language of sin, righteousness and judgment, in terms of God's power and redemption and new life. And that can only be done if "today" faithfully steepes itself in Christ's work of yesterday recorded in Scripture. The Anglican tradition rightly regards Scripture as the first of these creative gifts of Christ, an essential witness to the truth of Christ and a necessary bulwark of freedom in Christ.

The Sacraments are actions, things done; and since the truth of life is to be found in action and the power of Christian life in what Christ does in us, the Sacraments He has given are the most highly charged of all His gifts to His Church. And yet because a sacrament is a thing done by us, it is the easier for Christians to get the doing of it wrong, to confuse themselves by misinterpreting its significance, by reading too little or too much into it, too little of Christ's mind or too much of their own. Church history is a sad record of their doing so. The Anglican tradition is wisely very restrained, not wishing to obscure truth or to hamper freedom by over-definition or over-precision, yet deeply conscious of the power inherent in the Sacraments of grace. Anglican tradition is content to know that the Sacraments belong to Christ and that nothing is done through them save what He does; that the Sacraments are effectual only because of "Christ's institution and promise" and that their significance must always be governed by what Christ was and did in giving them. This sense that in the Eucharist the table and the supper are the Lord's and He the celebrant, inviting His people to take part in what He does, makes itself felt in the restraint of Anglican Eucharistic doctrine and practice, which places it always in the context of a direct personal and moral relationship between Christ and His people, effected through the Sacrament

as a true *Κοινωνία*. And if regard for truth as we see it and as others see it still necessarily limits the freedom of our sacramental relations with other Communion of Christendom, we gladly believe (how could it be otherwise?) that Christ is as really present with them in their observance of His Sacraments as He is with us in ours; we all receive Him in His Sacraments. It is obscurity of insight and discipleship which hinders Christians from the full truth and the full freedom which Christ would have us enjoy in the fellowship of the Sacraments which He has given us.

The Ministry comes last of these creative gifts of Christ to His Church, as it should. Creative indeed it is, since those set apart for this office in the Church of God are Ministers of Christ's Word and Sacraments, pastors of His flock, overseers of its common life and leaders in its witness and work. Yet by Our Lord's definition of ministry it is in the lowest and the humblest place. It is a cruel thing that this humble office should have become the acutest factor in church disunity, and that so often in the history of the Church those ordained to office and ministry in the Church of God have created dissension and disunity by magnifying their own position and power, to the detriment of the freedom and the truth of the Body of Christ. Here above all is it the way of wisdom to regard the Ministry less as a qualifying test of church order than as a creative gift of Christ to his Church—one that may be used or misused, well ordered or badly ordered—one that is used somehow by every Communion and in its perfection by none? It is not to be denied that in every Church the Ministry, however excellent its credentials and pedigree, can become perverted and can become an instrument of false doctrines, or of ethical emptiness, or of spiritual tyranny. Nor is it to be denied that through ministries of faulty credentials as we judge them, Christ does truly give Himself in fullness of spiritual encounter and experience to His people. If in spite of these two pregnant facts Anglican tradition is committed entirely to the historic or Apostolic Ministry, it is because of our own spiritual experience that, in potentiality always and in practice also, this form of ministry justifies itself as a true gift of power from Christ; and as such we hold that it is to be preserved for ourselves and to become in some form a necessary element among others in the great Church of the future.

In so regarding the Ministry less as a qualifying test than as a creative power, we can be greatly encouraged by what is now happening in the Church of South India. So far as that Church accepted the principle of the Historic Ministry with its threefold order, it did so not to satisfy any test of orthodoxy, but as a factor demanded by

circumstances and capable of being used by Christ. And now it is by all accounts justifying itself on its own merits. It is not merely accepted but approved for its efficacy as an instrument, even an essential instrument, of the Holy Spirit in the developing life of that Church within the Church Catholic. As with other gifts of Christ, Churches may minimize or magnify this gift of the Ministry, and so distort it. They may for some compelling reason change its form, losing thereby and gaining thereby also. If as we believe there is a special potentiality of service in the Apostolic Ministry, in its continuity and in its character, then we must commend it not as a thing in itself, able to guarantee truth and freedom by its mere existence: for patently it cannot do that: but as Christ's gift full of virtue and of possibilities in His hands, one which suffers in manifold ways in the Church's usage of it, but is like the Church itself to grow together into its perfection of freedom and of truth, of form and of spirit. And perhaps in the Anglican tradition it is easier than in some other traditions to be aware of the confusions and contradictions which beset the question of order, and to seek without prejudice the way forward to a Ministry which can commend itself without scruple to the whole Church of Christ.

These three gifts of Christ to His Church give us our confidence and our hope in His service. They offer truth and they offer freedom; and the challenge and adventure of Christian discipleship is that by continuing in their use we may grow in the knowledge of His truth and so grow in the freedom which His truth gives. In the world today more than ever before, the sense of truth is being distorted by the evils of propaganda and atrophied by moral decay; and freedom, without which truth cannot live, is threatened with extinction by the mounting forces of power groups, and of men's obsession with materialisms which blind them to the next world and therefore to the truth of this. Similar forces, the devil's favourite weapons of lies and coercion, are at work in the Church as well. All the conditions favour the spread of untruth and the curtailment of freedom. It is hard to battle for the high calling of Christ to trust to His truth alone and to let it be the source of freedom. But it is to this hard battle that the Church of Christ is called and committed, and we of the Anglican Communion should glory that it is so. Never was a time when such contribution as we can make by our tradition was more needed for the strengthening of the Church and the saving of the world. It is a grand thing to be called at this moment of history to battle for the one Lord of Freedom and of Truth. It is a splendid thing that we in this Congress should renew our fellowship with one another and our faith in the call of Christ to our own Communion. May He give us confidence and

strength to match this hour, that faithful in His Word and in our discipleship, we may be fortified by the truth and by the truth set free, to glorify the God of our salvation.

¶ *Following the Archbishop's Address, The Right Reverend the Bishop of Minnesota will invite the offerings of the people in these words*

DEARLY beloved, St. John once asked, "Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" The Offering will be devoted to the work of the Church in the Province of West Africa and to the needs of the Diocese of Hong Kong in ministering to refugees.

¶ *During the receiving of the Offering, the following Anthems shall be sung by the Choirs.*

WITH a voice of singing declare ye this Martin Shaw
WE gather together to ask the Lord's blessing Valerius-Kremser

¶ *The Congregation shall stand as The Archbishop of Canterbury receives the Offering, and shall continue standing for the remainder of the service.*

¶ *The Archbishop, having received the Offering, will then conclude the Service saying the following Prayers and Blessing*

Almighty and everlasting God, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift; Send down upon our Bishops, and other Clergy, and upon the congregations committed to their charge, the healthful Spirit of thy grace; and, that they may truly please thee, pour upon them the continual dew of thy blessing. Grant this, O Lord, for the honour of our Advocate and Mediator, Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

O Lord Jesus Christ, who saidst unto thine Apostles, Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; Regard not our sins, but the faith of thy Church; and grant to it that peace and unity which is according to thy will, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, guide, we beseech thee, the Nations of the world into the way of justice and truth, and establish among them that peace which is the fruit of righteousness, that they may become the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

THE BLESSING

The Blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, be upon you, and remain with you for ever. *Amen.*

¶ *During the retiring of the Procession, this hymn shall be sung*

TEN thousand times ten thousand

ALFORD

THE OPENING SESSION

On Thursday morning, August 5, after a Corporate Communion in The Cathedral, the delegates assembled for the opening session of the Congress in the Hennepin Avenue Methodist Church. The attractive and extensive facilities of this church and its parish house, conveniently near The Cathedral Church of St. Mark, had been generously placed at the disposal of the Congress by its Pastor and Board of Trustees. The Hennepin Avenue church building itself, in which all general sessions were held, provided ample space for the delegates, secretarial staff, visitors, and representatives of the Press, while no fewer than ten of the twenty groups into which the members of the Congress were divided for more intimate discussion sessions met comfortably in its parish rooms.

The session having been opened with prayer, the **PRESIDING OFFICER OF THE CONGRESS** (the Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill) spoke with gratitude of the efforts of the Bishops of Minnesota, the members of the Minnesota Committee, the members of the Joint Committee and its chairman, the Bishop of Connecticut, the Program Committee and its chairman, the Bishop of South Carolina, and all others who had labored tirelessly to make the Anglican Congress possible.

Called upon by the **PRESIDING OFFICER**, the **BISHOP OF MINNESOTA** (the Rt. Rev. Stephen E. Keeler), after welcoming the delegates and visitors to the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, introduced the first of three distinguished guests present to bring greetings to the Congress. **MR. ERIC NORTH**, British Consul to the Upper Midwest, bore a message from Sir Roger Makins, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., British Ambassador to the United States. The Ambassador wrote:

The special relationship between Church and State in England makes it appropriate that the representative in this country of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II should have been invited to add a word of salutation to those other messages which have welcomed the inauguration of this great Congress of the Anglican Communion. The high sense of its significance among churchmen and laymen in Great Britain is fittingly marked by the presence of the Primate of All England, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, ninety-ninth Archbishop of Canterbury. And that this significance is equally recognized throughout the British Commonwealth and Empire is amply demonstrated by the presence among the six hundred and more delegates assembled here of representatives from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Tasmania, and from among Her Majesty's subjects in West Africa and the West Indies.

It is in keeping with the historic ties between the British

Commonwealth and the United States—ties whose solidarity has never been more important than it is today—that the second such meeting ever held in the history of the Anglican Communion should be taking place here in the heart of America. It is similarly in keeping with the hospitable tradition of Minnesota that so many of its citizens have opened their homes to the visitors on whose behalf they have already worked so hard in preparation for this Congress.

You are meeting in witness to our common faith, under the emblem of St. George's Cross, which flies above cathedrals and village churches all over England. At this solemn hour in the world's history, I know that your deliberations will be guided and sustained by his courageous spirit.

The Congress was then briefly addressed by His Honor the MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS (Mr. Erick Hoyer) who extended the City's cordial welcome to the delegates; and His Excellency the GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA (Mr. C. Elmer Anderson) who conveyed the greetings of the people of the State and spoke warmly of the crucial importance of the work of the Anglican Communion throughout the world.

The BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT (the Rt. Rev. Walter H. Gray), Episcopal Secretary of the Congress, was called upon to read a message which he had received from the President of the United States. The President wrote:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 2, 1954

Dear Bishop Gray:

I am delighted to learn of the Minneapolis meeting of the Anglican Congress and wish I could accept your kind invitation to meet with the distinguished representatives of the Dioceses of the Anglican Communion.

This international meeting of Churchmen is another inspiring demonstration of a world-wide yearning for peace and understanding among the peoples of many nations. At the very least your Congress will demonstrate that men of many races can convene harmoniously for the common good of those whom they represent.

Though complete agreement may never be achieved, harmony in discussions of spiritual problems is particularly desirable in this age so brutally characterized by tyranny's tireless efforts to destroy freedom and faith. Your efforts to promote among the peoples of the world a deeper understanding of the spiritual values which undergird political freedom will contribute much

to the cause of justice and liberty in the present-day struggle so crucial to us all.

Sincerely,
Dwight D. Eisenhower

The Rt. Rev. Walter H. Gray, D.D.
Chairman, Committee on Arrangements
Anglican Congress

Other greetings and expressions of good wishes were received from the World Methodist Council and Conference, the World Presbyterian Alliance, and the Dominion Anglican Young People's Association. Suitable replies to these, to the British Ambassador, and to the President of the United States were drafted by the Chairman of the Editorial Committee, the REV. DR. R. S. K. SEELEY (Canada); and upon his motion, seconded by the RT. REV. G. F. ALLEN (England) of the same committee, the Congress approved their dispatch.

The PRESIDING OFFICER then introduced the BISHOP OF SOUTH CAROLINA (the Rt. Rev. Thomas N. Carruthers) who spoke on the program and procedure of the Congress as follows:

The Program Committee calls to your attention several matters which may anticipate some of your questions and make clearer the general plan and procedure of the Congress. The program is the joint work of the Program Committee of the Church in the United States and the Central Committee representing all branches of the Anglican Communion. We have been in constant correspondence with your representatives since 1950, keeping in touch with them at every step, and have continually called for their advice and help. They have responded promptly and constructively. In turn, they have kept in touch with their Provinces, often submitting questions about topics, speakers, and leaders to their conventions, synods, or convocations. In a very real sense, therefore, the program we shall follow here has been worked out by the Anglican Communion itself.

This same thing is true of the selection of speakers, group chairmen, and secretaries. They were suggested by the representatives on the Central Committee, the Primates, and others. In the case of our speakers, after we had all the recommendations, a vote was taken among the fourteen central representatives asking them to name in the order of their preference their choice of speakers for each major topic. Many of those who will address you at this Congress, therefore, were not merely chosen by our local Program Committee; they were actually elected by the Anglican Communion. We have kept in mind throughout the comprehensive nature of our Communion—geographical, racial, national, theological.

We agreed early in the planning that since this Congress was to be a family gathering, the program should be concerned with the family—its nature, function, responsibility, opportunity, relation to other Communion. That accounts for the general theme: **THE CALL OF GOD AND THE MISSION OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION**. To gain a clearer vision of the distinctive mission of our Communion, and greater knowledge and inspiration to perform it, has seemed to us the objective of the Congress. We decided to concentrate on four main topics: *Our Vocation, Our Worship, Our Message, and Our Work*; four topics with a total of eleven subheads and, therefore, eleven prepared addresses. If you think this a large order for ten days, you might compare this program with that of the eight days of the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908. At that time there were seven major topics with forty-five subheads, and these were in turn divided so that there were 157 different subjects!

Unlike many of the recent world conferences, this Congress is not divided into sections with a part of the delegates concentrating on each of the four major topics. We shall all take up the topics in turn, the entire Congress putting its mind down on each topic. We shall devote approximately two days to each main topic. First, we shall hear in full session the addresses on a topic prepared by leaders and experts of our Communion. Copies of their addresses will be immediately available to the delegates. The Congress will then meet in twenty discussion groups—each with its chairman and secretary—for intimate, person to person discussion of the topic. The groups are small so that no one need hesitate to speak out. After the group meetings, the chairmen and secretaries will meet with the Executive Group Chairman to plan, with the assistance of the Editorial Committee, the presentation of the findings and resolutions of the groups to the Congress in plenary session. Some resolutions you may be ready to adopt in these full sessions of Congress discussion; others you may wish to send back to the Editorial Committee for amendment or redrafting, to return to the Congress for adoption or rejection on the last day.

The group meetings are an essential stage in the work of the Congress. The delegates have been carefully distributed among the groups; each having its share of bishops, priests, laymen and women; each representative of our whole Communion. The absence of one delegate from his group could throw the findings of that group out of focus; the presence and contribution of each member is vital to the full success of the Congress.

In the short time allotted we cannot expect to work out definitive

statements on the topics we are considering. It is our hope that we shall arrive at some conclusions, adopt some resolutions, and prepare a brief message which will be creative and inspiring guides to the people of our Communion and to the world. It is also our hope that through an interchange of experience and methods within the unity of a common goal, the work of our whole Communion may go forward with greater effect. There are aspects of church life in which various Provinces excel. Delegates from all parts of our world-wide Communion will have the opportunity to learn about these plans and methods and go home determined to apply them in their own countries. We believe that in a clearer understanding of the call of God and the mission of the Anglican Communion lies a great hope for the world.

Four resolutions to implement the procedures of the Congress were then proposed by the BISHOP OF SOUTH CAROLINA: (1) That a two-thirds vote be required for the adoption of a resolution by the Congress; (2) That no resolution in respect to matters not discussed previously in group meetings and brought thence to the Congress originate from the floor, without the unanimous consent of the delegates present; (3) That, except when discussion groups specifically request otherwise, the chairmen and secretaries be authorized in their meeting to determine the form in which findings and resolutions be presented for Congress discussion; and (4) That in plenary sessions of the Congress speeches be limited to five minutes. Successively seconded and put to the Congress by the PRESIDING OFFICER, the resolutions were passed *nemine contradicente*.

The opening business concluded, the members of the Congress turned to the first topic of their consideration: *Our Vocation*. The PRESIDING OFFICER introduced the BISHOP OF LONDON (the Rt. Rev. J. William C. Wand) whose address occupied the rest of the morning. In the afternoon, when the delegates were again assembled in general session, the second and third papers on the first topic were read by the ARCHBISHOP OF QUEBEC (the Most Rev. Philip Carrington) and the REV. J. P. HICKINBOTHAM, Professor of Theology in the University College of the Gold Coast, West Africa.

TOPIC I

OUR VOCATION

THE POSITION OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION
IN HISTORY AND DOCTRINE

BY

THE RT. REV. AND RT. HON. J. WILLIAM C. WAND, D.D.

Bishop of London

Our subject is of the greatest importance. At a time when the secular world is in ferment and almost all civil organizations are being remodelled to meet changing situations, it is necessary for us to know why we should remain essentially what we are, providing some element of stability in a revolutionary society. At a time also when the ecclesiastical world, thank God, is moving towards greater harmony and closer co-operation, it is proper for us to recognize clearly our own particular genius and know what contribution we have to offer to the re-united Christendom of the future. Further, at the opening of a great Congress like the present it is just as well that we should make clear precisely what we stand for.

If I were asked to state in a single sentence the position of the Anglican Communion I should say that it strives to give expression to the full teaching of the Bible as reflected in the age-long history of the Christian Church.

This implies both faithfulness to the original foundation of the Church and a constant adaptation to changing circumstances. It implies also a firm grasp of the principle of continuity which allows no essential break with the past or any departure from the lines laid down in our fundamental documents.

There are some Christian denominations which claim to hold fast to the Bible without concerning themselves unduly with the subsequent history of the Church. There are others that pin their faith to tradition without concerning themselves over-much with what they would regard as a slavish adherence to the *ipsissima verba* of the Scriptures. That there is room for almost endless debate both about the meaning of the Bible and about the precise content of tradition goes without saying. But the typical Anglican refuses to be impaled

on either horn of the dilemma. He holds fast both to the Bible and to the continuity of Christian history. Our attitude of mind has been well expressed by one of our major poets:

The Child is father of the Man;
And I should wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.

That is my thesis, and in accordance with my terms of reference I must seek to establish it both in history and doctrine.

A

That the world-wide Anglican Communion stems from the Church in Britain goes without saying. It is not always remembered, however, how varied were the influences that produced the Church in those islands or how near to biblical times the first of them appeared. It came not later than the end of the second century and was probably more Greek than Latin. It helped to train the first Roman emperor who became a Christian. It was organized on a roughly diocesan basis. At any rate there were bishops of York and London by 314, when with another, but uncertainly identified British bishop, they attended the Council of Arles.

During two and a half centuries a very considerable Church must have been built up in Britain. I find it very hard to believe, as is generally supposed, that on the coming of the English and the disappearance of the Roman Legions, all this Christianity was swept lock, stock and barrel, into the fastnesses of the West Country. Recent historians have reacted violently against the view that the Anglo-Saxons completely annihilated the people they conquered. There is evidence of definite continuity in the civic life of some of the larger towns, as for instance in London itself. If that is so, there must have been some continuity of religious belief, even if the Church's buildings and organization were almost entirely destroyed.

This is not to detract from the importance of the Latin mission or from the value of the work it did in the south of England after Augustine's landing in 597. Even so it should not be forgotten that, contemporary with the work of the papal mission in the south, there was a very gallant effort to convert the north by Celtic missionaries from Ireland, or that their type of organization was very different from that of Augustine and his followers. Nor should it be forgotten that the very important missionary work done by the British agents on the continent of Europe was very largely of the Celtic type. But just as the various missions on the Continent yielded ultimately to

the tremendous prestige of Rome, so in England the conflict between the two was at the Synod of Whitby in 664 decided in favour of the papal See.

Henceforth Christianity in England must be regarded as an integral part of the papal system. The attempt to prove that throughout the Middle Ages England stood outside that system, developing its own customs and its own ecclesiastical law, has broken down. William the Conqueror set a high value on the blessing conferred by the Pope upon his expedition, and repaid that favour by integrating the English ecclesiastical organization still more completely with that of Rome. Later John retained his crown by making England a fief of the Pope. It is now generally conceded that Canon Law was just as fully recognized in England as it was in the Churches of the Continent. Nevertheless a certain independence of spirit still remained. The Kingdom never became part of the Holy Roman Empire, and ecclesiastical leaders like Grosseteste of Lincoln often expressed a sturdy criticism of Rome which they did not regard as incompatible with their essential loyalty. The stronger kings could often rely upon the backing of the country when national policy seemed to require a defiance of the Papacy. Even Henry V suppressed a number of monasteries long before a root and branch reformation became practical politics.

The detachment of the Church in England from Rome and the development of Anglicanism, strictly so-called, came in the characteristic English way almost by accident. The process was prolonged over the course of a century. Three main stages in its growth can be discerned.

(1) The whole movement was inaugurated quite unintentionally by the cardinal and papal legate Wolsey, whose fundamental importance in this respect has been made clear by his modern biographer, A. F. Pollard. Wolsey was the first man in English history to combine in his own hands effective authority both in Church and State. It had been part of William the Conqueror's system to distinguish sharply between secular and ecclesiastical affairs, recognizing papal authority in the latter, while reserving the former for himself. Generally speaking, that system had prevailed and had been recognized in English law throughout the Middle Ages. Wolsey, however, united the two authorities in his own person.

As chancellor he was not only the principal legal officer under the crown, but he also relieved the King of responsibility for domestic administration. He also directed foreign policy, and even decided issues of peace and war. All this, of course, was under the King's

pleasure, but during the early years of his reign the King was pleased to have it so. At the same time Wolsey gathered into his own hands the full rights of ecclesiastical administration. As Archbishop of York he was of course junior to Canterbury; but when he persuaded the Pope to make him *legatus a latere*, he superseded the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was merely *legatus natus*. Wolsey was therefore supreme both in Church and State. For the first time in English history all the reins of government were in one pair of hands.

Wolsey thus established a truly unified government in England. When he fell, the King simply took the reins into his own hands. Thomas More might succeed Wolsey as chancellor, but he was never allowed to exercise the same general powers. The Pope had already been effectively superseded, and as he could not for political reasons grant Henry the decree of nullity on which he had set his heart, he was not allowed to resume the spiritual powers he had lost. The King was now supreme in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil, and all the acts that were passed were intended to give the force of law to this *de facto* position.

Henry, of course, had no intention of altering the religion of his country. He was a devout and theologically minded Catholic. As a young king he had been accustomed to attend three masses a day when hunting and to share the daily office with his Queen in her chamber. He had learnt his theology in days when he had thought that he himself might become Archbishop of Canterbury, and he had worked hard with the Pope to gain his title of *Defender of the Faith*. But although he might himself write against Luther, he could not prevent the movement of a current of thought among his people which would ultimately carry his breach with Rome much further than he himself intended. He could see nothing wrong in a Catholicism with himself as Head, but when his own strong hand was removed the flood of new thought, together with the rapacity of greedy adventurers, swept away much that he would have left untouched.

(2) The second important stage came with Elizabeth. She entered upon an extremely dubious situation. Since her father's death, Englishmen had suffered under two experiences, neither of which they wished to see repeated. Under Edward VI new thought and rapacity had had their day. Churches had been despoiled; services had been altered; a new and oppressive aristocracy had been enriched; the old religious glamour had gone. Under Mary an effort had been made to set the clock right back, but it had been accompanied by the fires of Smithfield and an alliance with the hated Spaniards. The bulk of the

people was therefore as disgusted with Marian Papalism as with Edwardian Protestantism. Where was one to go from there?

Elizabeth was a true daughter of her father with a double portion of his determination and statecraft, and with an even greater capacity for identifying herself with the country over which she had been called to rule. She had no use for either the Marian or the Edwardian position. Left to herself she would probably have got as near to the religion of her father as the changed circumstances would allow, while recognizing that in the development of human affairs one can never really recall the past. The difficulty was that in the reaction after Mary there was a solid section of the leaders both in Church and State who would have liked to have pressed forward with what they believed to be reform. This section was composed of those whose fortunes had been made by the changes and those whose theology had been influenced by the advanced views held on the Continent. Unfortunately for Elizabeth these were the people who had greatest influence in Parliament. The early part of her reign was taken up with a severe struggle on the part of the Queen to prevent them from having their way.

How severe was that struggle has recently been made clear to us by J. M. Neale in his valuable book *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments*. From his researches we learn how determined were the efforts made in Parliament to impose upon the country a thorough-going Puritan regime, and how skilful were the moves of the Queen to circumvent them. In the end Elizabeth only got her way by a compromise. Puritanism was excluded; the episcopal succession was maintained; the "Black Rubric" was omitted so as to allow belief in the Real Presence; the original formula was reinserted into the words of administration; and the Ornaments Rubric was made to enforce the old eucharistic vestments—a regulation that was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Altogether it is clear that the Elizabethan Settlement was the settlement of Elizabeth herself. If it is upon this basis that Anglicanism as a distinctive system is based, then we have much for which to thank the great Queen.

(3) The third stage in the emergence of Anglicanism is connected with King James VI of Scotland and I of England. By this time Anglicanism had achieved not only a pragmatic actuality, but also a theoretical statement. Hooker set the standard in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, of which no less a person than Pope Clement VIII asserted that it had in it such seeds of eternity that it would abide till the last fire should consume all learning.

Perhaps it was as well for us that we had another theologian on the throne, particularly one who as a result of his experiences of Presbyterianism in Scotland had come to the conclusion that he would connive at no departure from historic Christianity. At any rate when the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 made their great effort to eliminate from public services what they regarded as the rags of Popery, and tried to associate the presbyters with the bishops in the administration of discipline, the King was thoroughly alarmed and insisted on maintaining both the customary ceremonies and the position of the bishops. Happily both sides, in spite of these differences, were able to collaborate in one great project. Together they produced the Authorized Version of the Bible which for three centuries served as the mainstay of English religion. The Established Church set the seal on its own position by publishing a set of canons which were also destined to three centuries of useful service and which we are now in the process of subjecting to careful scrutiny and revision.

Thus the century passed from the time when Henry VIII first spoke of the "English Church" to the full emergence of Anglicanism with its own theology, its own liturgy and its own Canon Law. All we need do to round off this historical section of our paper is to say a few words about the expansion of the Church of England into the Anglican Communion.

I will say nothing here of the Church of Wales, the Church of Ireland and the Episcopal Church of Scotland, if for no other reason than that each of them sometimes makes a claim to be older than the Church of England. I should wish to do all honour to those ancient Churches, but to go back and consider their history would make havoc of our chronological sequence. And in any case the actual expansion came from England.

That expansion was due to the military and commercial adventures of English people overseas from the sixteenth century onwards. As chaplains accompanied the troops, so they also abode with the settlers when the first colonies were founded. As their activities spread over the seven seas the question inevitably arose, how they were themselves to be shepherded. Charles I and Laud devised the expedient of putting all the overseas work of the Church under the Bishop of London. He did the work through the agency of commissaries and archdeacons. This for a time maintained the unity of the churches beyond the seas with the Church at home. But as their numbers and importance increased it became evident that the existence of episcopal churches without bishops was an anomaly that must be ended. After

Nova Scotia the United States has the honour of being the first to insist on proper provision being made. When the English government could not find a way out of the difficulty of recognizing bishops not based on England, the American Church very properly had recourse to the Episcopal Church in Scotland and thence gained both its first consecrated bishop and its name, or at least part of its name.

The way having thus been forced open, other areas in due course got their bishops. One by one the Churches obtained something like independent status and left the care of the Diocese of London. Today the bishop of that over-loaded diocese has only one relic left of his overseas jurisdiction, the Anglican chaplaincies in Northern and Central Europe. But in place of it there is a vast network of autonomous dioceses and provinces throughout the English-speaking world and beyond. One thing of permanent importance these Churches have demonstrated: that the maintenance of Anglicanism is not dependent upon any connection with secular government. If the Church of England is still happily an "established" Church, its sister Churches are not. But all the characteristic features of Anglicanism, even down to surprising details, are repeated in the newer provinces and national Churches. And all those provinces are bound together by their participation in the same ministry, the same sacraments, the same general standards of Anglicanism, and membership of the same Lambeth Conference.

B¹

Having thus discussed our position in history, we now come to consider the Anglican position in doctrine. We know quite well, of course, what is said by our critics about the Anglican position in doctrine; and that is, that there isn't one. We have, it is alleged, no position, only an amalgam of different positions. We are sometimes said to be trying to hold together two if not three quite incompatible systems of doctrine, as exemplified in an Erastian clergy, Calvinistic articles, and a Catholic liturgy. I do not think many of us are very alarmed by such criticism. We were bound to run the danger of it by the very terms of our history. If we were once well within the general system of the Western Church and were later on the verge more than once of being pulled into the Puritan system, it was inevitable that we should bear some signs of our struggles in our resultant structure of faith and practice. If in the course of those struggles we learnt to see some good in more than one of the various presentations of Christianity, is it not natural and right that we should

¹ In the actual delivery of this address Section B was omitted.

strive to retain all the good and so to keep our own limits as wide as possible? I am convinced that most of our critics really envy us our comprehensiveness and would like to imitate it if they could persuade themselves that it was compatible with safety. In any case even comprehensiveness is a position. Let us examine it and see what it involves.

I take doctrine in its widest sense as including not only faith and order, but also liturgy, and further that particular stress or emphasis which often shows more clearly than anything the characteristic genius of a particular Church.

(1) The typical Anglican, if there be any such, is generally a practical person, even when he is a theologian. It is therefore questions of order that loom largest in his thoughts and arguments. After all, it is much easier to judge questions of order than of faith. It is very difficult to tell exactly what a person believes; it is not nearly so difficult to say whether he has been baptized or not. Indeed it may be one of the reasons why sacraments are so important in Christianity that they are things to be done rather than to be explained. I am very far, of course, from saying that there is nothing to be believed in connection with them, but merely that the emphasis is rather on the faithful performance than on the precise definition.

In the whole range of "order" there is for us one feature that stands out as a sort of Everest above all the surrounding peaks, and that is episcopacy. Indeed we are often twitted by our neighbors both to right and left on the tremendous importance we attach to it. The fact is that we have staked our very existence more than once on our retention of it, and what you have fought so hard for you are apt to value very highly. And by episcopacy we mean episcopacy in what we believe to be its primitive and essential form, bishops who are superintendent ministers with the right of conferring orders of the ministry and of handing on their own ministry in due succession from generation to generation. We claim on the one hand not to have broken that succession, and on the other hand not to have exalted any one of our bishops to have exclusive powers over his brethren and over the Church at large. We are thus distinguished both from the Puritan and from the Roman position. However, we are not peculiar in our view of episcopacy, for it is roughly the same as that taken by the Orthodox Churches of the East, by the Old Catholics, and by some sections of the Lutherans.

Whether a Church can properly exist at all without such an episcopate is, I think, a question that we have never formally answered.

We have often been closely allied with Churches having no such ministry and we have often employed non-episcopally ordained ministers from other churches in our service. We have frequently disputed among ourselves whether episcopacy is of the *esse* or the *bene esse* of the Church, whether, that is to say, it is necessary or merely advisable to have bishops. Recently there has arisen a new school of thought which ignores the alternatives of *esse* and *bene esse* but affirms that episcopacy is of the *plene esse*, the fulness of the Church. That means, as I understand it, that you can have a Church in embryo without a duly constituted order of bishops, but that you cannot have a complete or perfect Church without them.

One may perhaps be forgiven for thinking that this last view has been developed mainly in order to find a solution to the riddle of South India. In any case it is hardly likely to affect our general position on the subject, which is that we regard episcopacy as necessary for ourselves and that we can only enter into full communion with other Churches where we are satisfied that they also possess it. This view we hold as consistently as we can without deliberately unchurching other bodies of Christian people. Obviously, if we wished to pursue the question further we should have to consider precisely what is meant by the Church, but for that we have no space in the present paper.

The charge that our clergy as thus conceived is Erastian, that is to say, dependent upon the State, will not bear investigation. So far as I am aware, it is only in England itself that the State has any part in their appointment. There are historical reasons for the peculiar position in England which are well known. There are also practical reasons which are not so clearly understood. I think it should be remembered that in the whole of Christian history, when the clergy have occupied an important and official position in the body politic the State has always exercised some influence in their appointment. In England so long as the Archbishop of Canterbury heads the list of the nobility after the Royal Family and so long as bishops occupy seats in the House of Lords, I do not think we could expect the State to surrender all part in their nomination. In any case it is only fair to say that the Church itself, in ways that are quite characteristic of English life, has a far greater share in the appointment of its bishops than is generally known.

Fortunately the world-wide interest in the coronation service of our beloved Queen has brought home to multitudes the part played by religion in the public life of Britain. While we can continue to

perform such offices for the State it seems to me unlikely that we shall voluntarily offer to surrender our position merely in order to free ourselves from an unfounded charge of Erastianism.

(2) As for our worship, the whole Anglican Communion would be proud to accept for the *Book of Common Prayer* the epithet Catholic, if by that epithet is implied continuity with the Early and Universal Church. Indeed it is our proud boast that the essential elements in our liturgical forms can be traced back to the primitive origins of Christianity and have been hallowed by the constant use of subsequent centuries. There is the less need for argument on this point since the position was thoroughly thrashed out in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is well known that the continental reformers and their followers in England, as well as the later Puritans, did their utmost to secure vital alterations in our liturgical forms on the very ground that they were current in the Middle Ages, but without success. The fact that the modern descendants of those objectors are themselves beginning to make tentative efforts toward a return to such liturgical forms would give added strength, if such were needed, to our belief in the wisdom of our forebears who were so careful to retain the Catholic elements of our heritage.

There are, however, two other features of our liturgy which had been to a large extent lost in the Middle Ages and the restoration of which added an evangelical note to our worship. The services were made thoroughly congregational and they were enriched by a large and comprehensive use of the Bible.

For both purposes we returned to the practice of conducting our services in the vernacular. We have abandoned any idea there may have been that there was only one sacred language in which worship might be offered to God. And we have abandoned any idea there may have been, that worship was something offered to God by the minister on behalf of the people. We believe that worship is the act of the faithful as a whole, and that if they are to join in it adequately they must understand the terms employed. By the same token we believe that if they are to grasp the genius of Christian worship they must be thoroughly grounded in the Bible. I believe it is true to say that there is more extensive use made of the Bible in the *Book of Common Prayer* than in the liturgy of any other Christian body.

This means that we are truly evangelical in that we try to maintain the spirit and method of the original evangel. Christ proclaimed His gospel in the conversational idiom of His own day. "The common people," we are told, "heard Him gladly." It is our ambition to make the statement possible in each generation. Whether we succeed today

is open to question. Even the vernacular is continually changing. For English-speaking people the language of their accustomed Bible and Prayer Book has become archaic and to the less well educated only partially intelligible. How to re-word our forms of worship so as to bring their full meaning home to the hearts and minds of the people is a problem which should be tackled not only in respect of the Bible (as has already been done in America) but also in respect of the *Book of Common Prayer*. But that we are still on the right lines in insisting upon the use of the common tongue is shown by the desire to imitate us evidenced today in many parts of the Roman Catholic Church.

Our position in doctrine, strictly so called, is, as has already been suggested, comprehensive. In Anglican terminology "comprehensive" implies that which is founded upon the certain warrant of Holy Scripture. Our doctrine is as wide as that, but only as wide as that. If it contains ambiguities those ambiguities are already to be found in the Scriptures. We may each one, as thinking men must, try to resolve doubtful points for ourselves, but we do not insist upon our conclusions as doctrines necessary for eternal salvation. We have no wish to narrow the area of subscription more closely than the limits set by the Scriptures.

For us the sense of Scripture is determined by the Creeds, the Articles and the Catechism. The three creeds as found in the Prayer Book link us with the fundamental facts of the Christian revelation and define for us the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. That they are themselves comprehensive is recognized by every modern historian of doctrine. Professor Sellers in his recent book on the Council of Chalcedon has shown that even the most closely articulated of them combines different strands of interpretation. That they cut off certain extremes at either end goes without saying, but that is precisely at the point where the condemned teaching went beyond the warrant of Scripture.²

Much the same can be said about the Articles. They, of course, deal for the most part with less fundamental matters and are "dated" by reference to sixteenth century controversies, some of which have lost their vital interest for us today. That they are, as is often alleged, "Calvinist," I do not for one moment believe. Indeed they explicitly deny some of the most characteristic tenets of Calvinism. On the other hand it used to be hotly debated whether they are capable of recon-

² The difficulty sometimes felt about the creeds is not really due to any excess beyond the limits of Scripture, but to the fact that they translate the views expressed in the New Testament into a fresh medium, that of Greek philosophy.

ciliation with the doctrine of the Council of Trent. On the whole I am inclined to think that Newman won that battle. But the question is purely academic for us today, since the Roman Church has added new dogmas, which so far from having certain warrant in Holy Scripture seem to me to have no warrant at all, either in Scripture or history or reason.

It is a pity that in attempts to estimate the position of Anglican doctrine more attention is not given to the Catechism. That after all is our standard of teaching. Every candidate for Confirmation is brought up on it. It presents us with a carefully balanced statement. It is not distorted by any heat of controversy. It does not divorce belief from practice. It is a mellow and characteristic document of Anglicanism. And it is as definite on the points treated, particularly the Gospel Sacraments, as any standard of teaching needs to be.

(3) In conclusion I should like to mention one or two traits, which serve to reveal the special genius of Anglicanism as no mere enumeration of doctrinal points can ever do. In estimating varieties of religious expression it is often difference of emphasis rather than the presence or absence of a particular doctrine that reveals the true character of a Church. Under this head I should say that while all Christian Churches of course inculcate virtue, one of our own most distinctive traits is moralism. By this I do not mean that we produce more than our fair share of saints. Indeed I do not think that the pursuit of heroic saintliness is typical of the average Anglican. It is true that the leaders of our two great movements, both the Evangelical Revival and the Oxford Movement, were impelled by a passionate longing for holiness which is often missed by the historians. But what the typical Anglican more commonly desires is a steady average of conduct that will prevent him from falling into gross sin and will make him a praiseworthy member of society. He would accept the motto that "it is character and character alone that can truly save us" but he is not anxious to be "righteous overmuch." To him religion is not something intended primarily to bind him to God, but to enable him to be good. It is obvious that such a trait may be a weakness as well as a strength.

To this characteristic I would add an intense reverence for scholarship. I do not mean that every man wishes to be a scholar, far less every woman, but that all alike expect their leaders to be abreast of modern scholarship. Even those who set most store by the tradition of the Church expect that tradition to be upheld and explained in the light of the latest research. For the rest there is an instinctive feeling that all the truth has not yet been told and that the revelation

once given should be a key to unlock the door of mysteries still concealed. This has served to maintain a certain liberal element in our thinking which is only prevented from causing the rise of a separate party within the Church because it has to a large extent permeated the parties that do exist. I need not mention the services rendered by Anglican scholars to the cause of Christian learning because their praise is in all the Churches. I will only point to one great need at the present time; and that is for a strong reinforcement of our work in the field of the Old Testament. It so happens that most of our scholars are trained in the classical tradition, and that tradition does not include a knowledge of Hebrew. We shall have to train far more accomplished Hebraists in the future if we are not to fall behind in this branch of sacred study.

Finally we cannot close this consideration without recognizing clearly the existence of party divisions in the Anglican Communion. The difference between what is roughly called High Church and Low Church is so strong that some outsiders believe we actually include two different Churches within our limits. What they fail to notice is that this difference is not only to be found throughout the whole Anglican Communion, but tends to appear in other Churches that have any close connection with us. If they noticed it they would perhaps realize that it is a difference of presentation that goes very deep into the heart of the whole Christian religion. They would find it not only in the New Testament as a whole, but even in the thought of individual writers, notably St. Paul. Indeed the two schools descend respectively from the institutionalism and the psychology of St. Paul, or, if you prefer it, from his contrasted teaching on grace and faith. Our difficulty arises from the attempt to do something that the New Testament writers did not have time to do, namely to weld together the two presentations into one coherent synthesis. It is not our shame but our glory that, remaining true to our foundations, we do not abandon the attempt. Other people can say "either—or"; we say "both—and." If St. Paul can be both Catholic and Evangelical, so too can you and so, I hope, can I. In any case the combination is certainly the religion of the New Testament as it is also the religion of the Anglican Communion.

C

There is one point that I want especially to deal with and that is the comprehensiveness of the English Church. That word I am old enough to cherish. When I was a young man, it was used with tremendous *éclat*. I remember that it always sounded extremely fine on

my own father's lips. Today a lot of people are very disdainful about it. I think they are quite wrong and I wish therefore to give especial attention to it this morning. I should like to say something in defence of our habit of holding together two distinct types of thought, the Evangelical and the Catholic.

If I am to do that, I must take you back to the beginnings of theological thought. How do you conceive creation to have occurred? Do you think of the omnipotent Creator taking something which is in effect nothing at all, a kind of negative substance, and out of that negative substance (*ex nihilo*, out of nothing) creating the universe with all the individuals and all the multitudinous items that are in it? Is that how you think of creation? Or do you think of the Creator making the universe out of Himself as the embodiment of His own thought and vital energy? It is possible to think of creation in both of those two ways.

I think that if we examined the thing very carefully we should probably find that the first was the sort of way in which the Jews naturally thought of creation, although as a matter of fact, they do, in the Book of Genesis, presuppose chaos for the Creator to work upon. But I think in their mind this chaos really did represent nothing at all, and it was a kind of substantive nothing, if you can follow what I mean! The other type of thought is much more consonant with Greek ways of thinking. They were concerned to show how the many came from the one, how the Absolute became varied and concrete. To put the distinction in another way, we sometimes think of the relation between God and the world as being either transcendent, that is to say, supremely over and outside creation, or we think of it as immanent, that is to say, within the creation.

The two ways of thinking about God's relation to the world really dovetail into each other. He is both Creator and Sustainer of the universe, both transcendent and immanent. If we once grasp the relation between the two ideas, we shall be able to resolve many of the doubts and difficulties that arise in considerations of much more detailed theological import.

If God is transcendent, it is natural to think of our relation to Him as being what you might call a mental relation, a psychological one. He is outside us, and we think of Him, we worship Him, we try to draw up our wills in line with His. In other words, His relation to us is *ab extra*. On the other hand, if we think of God as immanent, we have to realize He is not only within His own universe, but He is also within us as individuals and that our lives cannot exist apart from God. God is not outside of us, but He is within us. In the one

case we think of His influence as coming *ab extra*, in the other, we think of His influence as coming *ab intra*.

Now I want to suggest that the first is the way which in the New Testament you will find described as the way of faith. The second way is the way which you will find described in the New Testament as the way of grace. Faith relates to our psychological relationship to God; grace refers to God's entry within the individual personality. It is quite impossible to deny that both of these are to be found in our foundation documents. We have expressions such as "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." There is the psychological relationship—belief results in salvation. On the other hand, we have the message of our Lord, "Go into the world and make disciples of all nations baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Why baptize? If the believer is already saved as a result of the relationship of faith, then why bother about baptism? The answer, of course, is to be found in the assertion which I have just made that the ancients did not think of religion as merely a psychological matter, but they also thought of it as what, for want of a better word, I will call an "ontological" matter. It is not merely a matter of the relationship of the mind of the individual to the Creator, but also a matter of the interior presence of the Divine Being within the human individuality.

It is quite obvious that normally speaking (and here I am not speaking in an absolute sense, but relatively) faith applies to belief, whereas grace in this sense of the interior penetration of the human being by the Creator, applies to the sacraments. The curious thing is that in the New Testament, you never find the two dissociated from one another. Faith always leads to the sacraments; the sacraments always presuppose faith. St. Paul says, "A man is justified by faith." He also says that when we are baptized, we are grafted into Christ, so that the very vitality of Christ flows into our veins and we become one with Him. It is not only Pauline doctrine, it is the doctrine of the Fourth Gospel as well. The Fourth Gospel emphasizes over and over again the importance of belief, but it also emphasizes very strongly the necessity of this interior relation between God and the human soul. "The branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me." And all that St. John has to say about eating the flesh of the Son of Man and drinking His blood is an illustration of the same kind of teaching.

We do untold damage to the New Testament if we do not try to think about its teaching from the point of view of the mind of the

writer. The writers saw no essential difference between faith on the one hand and the sacraments on the other. They are all part and parcel of the same scheme of salvation. Ultimately, their method of thinking goes back to the two types of thought about the relationship of God to His world. The psychological relationship of faith refers to God as transcendent, the other to God as immanent.³

Now, if you will come into the sphere of Church history, you will find that this double relationship was accepted as quite a matter of course. Every single one of the early Fathers, of course, believed with the utmost conviction in the necessity for faith. They believed also quite definitely in the necessity for an immanent relationship with God that changes human nature into something more and better than merely human.

You get it most conspicuously in Irenaeus. He sees salvation not merely as the result of an act of faith, but as the change of mortal human nature into that which is immortal. Human nature became subject to death as the result of the first man's sin. Then the believer is baptized and Christ is born within him. The life of Christ in association with the individual is nourished by the continual reception of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. It develops as it is exercised in all godliness of living and it grows to maturity in such a way that the whole nature of the individual is transformed. The believer is no longer subject to death, but is the heir of everlasting life. That teaching is to be found frequently in the Greek Fathers. If you are a diligent student of St. Augustine, you will find it quite plainly expressed by him as well as by many of the other Western theologians.

In the Middle Ages, unfortunately, the balance between these two elements of faith and grace was upset. The Church of the period had to fight its battle with the powers of the world. In winning the battle it gained not merely the religious, but also the secular leadership of the world. And then in order to try to maintain that secular leadership, it had to spend so much time on matters of form and order that it became institutionally minded, and the emphasis was laid more and more upon the institutional elements in religion and the necessity for faith became more and more obscured.

That was the reason for the Reformation. Luther's outburst against the Church of his birth and baptism was essentially because he could not find within the whole majestic, orderly, institutional form of the Church, that emphasis upon faith which he saw quite clearly expressed in the pages of the New Testament. His revolution was an attempt to

³ That the two spheres are not mutually exclusive is sufficiently shown by *Eph.* 3. 17: "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith."

bring into prominence once again the necessity for a real, lively faith. The Reformation is sometimes described as the revolt of the Pauline doctrine of faith against the Pauline doctrine of grace. And that revolt did succeed under Luther in bringing out as clearly as it has ever been brought out the necessity for faith and conversion. We have seen that in England we did not accept that revolution wholeheartedly.

In England, we were determined to maintain not merely the new light that had been thrown upon the psychological teaching of the Bible, but also the age-long historic connection with its sacramental teaching. The heirs of the continental Reformation cared very little about the institutional side of the Church. They had got hold of this magnificent idea of faith and they were prepared to press it *à l'outrance*, and consequently they fell adrift from the historic Church. England stressed also the importance of the sacraments. Under Hooker was established a sublime synthesis of those two elements of faith and grace, of belief and sacrament, in a book of such conspicuous importance that, as we have seen, Pope Clement VIII said of it that it contained within it the seeds of such eternal truth that it would last until the last fire put an end to all learning.

Now that was the Anglican synthesis of the first level, so to speak. And that was the kind of commendation that it got from a well-read, learned Pope. Unfortunately, the necessities of Christian apologetics in a later century led us to emphasize once again the element of faith, not indeed to the entire exclusion of the element of grace, but nevertheless to a certain forgetfulness of this second element.

People very often deride the eighteenth century of English Church history because it allowed its services to become squalid and paid little attention to the sacramental teaching of Christianity. But the reason was that in the eighteenth century the great divines were defending the outer bastions of the Christian faith. It was the fundamental doctrinal truths that they were out to defend. Many in the learned world were trying to establish the view that Christianity was as old as the creation, and that therefore there was no need to accept any doctrine of the Trinity or even of the Incarnation. These fundamental doctrines had to be defended at every cost. The struggle against the Deists went on throughout that century. In the end, the great Anglican divines did defeat the enemy and they did maintain and establish, one hopes for all time, the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation as essential parts of Christian belief.

Following upon this great controversy, we had the Evangelical Revival which was still laying the emphasis on faith, although faith

conceived in a much warmer and more personal sense. The general effect, however, was to continue the partial neglect of sacramental grace. This made inevitable the ultimate Catholic revival which restored the emphasis on grace and began once again to make Christian people realize that the sacraments were just as much a part of the Christian faith as was belief itself.

Now that really is the situation in which the Church of England is today. We have the Evangelicals representing the psychological relation to God through faith, and we have the Catholics representing the ontological union with Christ through the sacraments. If what I have said has commended itself to you at all, then I think that you will realize that there cannot possibly be any irreconcilable conflict between these two points of view. The Evangelical cannot altogether neglect the sacraments, at least so long as he remains in the Church of England. Nor can he altogether belittle their meaning. He cannot say that the sacraments are merely pictures, signs of something that is not there. That is Zwinglianism, and Zwinglianism is a view of the sacraments which is expressly forbidden by the Articles of the Church of England. The Evangelical is just as bound to accept the sacraments and to use them as any other member in the Church of England. On the other hand, the Catholic cannot rid himself of the doctrine of faith, because if he does so, he destroys the very efficacy of the sacraments he is trying to defend. Unless he holds firmly to the necessity of belief and faith, he is imposing a diriment impediment between the action of the sacraments and his soul. The sacraments cannot be effective within his personal life unless he has the disposition of faith. If that is true, it is obvious, is it not? that the Evangelical and the Catholic elements must to a large extent overlap. I believe that we should recognize that fact and accept it with the utmost gladness.

This conclusion should lead us to adopt a new attitude to current parties. We, of course, have got so used to decrying parties within the Church that we have given a tremendous handle to the critic. The critic recognizes the fact that we have two different approaches and he says, "Look what they're doing, they're trying to hold together two conflicting and irreconcilable religions." And only too often we shake our heads and say, "It's a very great pity that we have these parties, but there they are, and we can't help it." Of course he goes away triumphant. Surely we should say to him, "Of course we have parties in the Church, and we're very glad of it because it means we recognize a tension between two fundamental ideas. We're very glad to have people who are prepared to emphasize one or the other so that

we may try to learn the utmost about both of them, and so reach a synthesis which will express the ultimate values of both."

I wish that we could, as a matter of fact, recognize the situation as it stands and rejoice in it instead of allowing ourselves to be beaten to our knees by this constant cry of "Parties in the Church!" We should inscribe it on our banners and say, "This is the order under which we march." They are not irreconcilable attitudes. If you take them right back to the fundamental beginnings, you see that they are essential attitudes. None of us can be completely Christian without holding both. But where you have tensions like that, it is almost inevitable that you should have people who emphasize the one and people who emphasize the other.

I believe that if we could gladly and freely accept the position we should, in point of fact, be able to carry on the work of Hooker; and we should, in course of time, be able to find a new synthesis which would express at a higher level what he did on the lower level. At present each of us has pushed his own particular emphasis to a greater extent than was even conceivable in the days of Hooker. What we want is a new synthesis at a higher level, as I say, than that of Hooker. As far as I am concerned, I should be extremely glad to Catholicize every Evangelical I have met, and by the same token, to give him the opportunity to Evangelicalize me if he can. It is not by jeering at each other, it is by recognizing fully that each of us has a side of the truth that we shall produce that synthesis. As a matter of fact, we each have not merely a side of the truth; we have a part of both sides. That is where we overlap, and it is because we overlap in that way that we can still be happy together within one Church. I believe that in this respect the Church of England is nearer to the heart of the New Testament than any other Christian Communion in the whole wide world. It is because it is ready, frankly, to acknowledge this tension at the very heart of religion, in the mind of a genius like St. Paul and in the writings of a genius like St. Augustine, that it occupies a unique position in Christendom. We, with our lesser mentalities, find it difficult to hold together truths which were to them equally fundamental, the one to the other. What we have got to try to do is so to live our religion as to get into their minds and to view things in the same way that they viewed them. If the New Testament presentation of His teachings is correct, I venture to say that we find exactly the same kind of tension in the teaching of our Lord Himself.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, that is really all I want to say. I hope that what I have said will give you some opportunity for discussion

and for developing ideas along the lines that I have indicated. I cannot finish this lecture without making a personal profession of faith. I owe everything that I am and have to the Church of England. I find it quite impossible to criticize the mother who bore me. That she has some detailed faults, odd idiosyncracies, may be true enough. But if they are there, they endear her to me all the more. I am not afraid of variety in religion. I personally welcome it. I believe that in welcoming it, we are copying the example of the leaders of the Christian Church in the New Testament.

The idea that there was ever one sort of undifferentiated Christianity is a mere chimera of the ecclesiastical journalist. It has no truth whatever in history. Read the New Testament and you will find that the writers are continually expressing different opinions. There were extremes, of course, which had to be cut off. But within those extremes there was room for a wide divergence of emphasis. And it is in the continual contact of different opinions that the truth emerges or is seen more clearly. I believe that if we can really acquire this essentially New Testament spirit, there lies before us a period of usefulness within the whole world-wide Church of God, such as our Communion has never experienced before.

It is extremely important that as we go into all the discussions that arise from the Oecumenical Movement, we should go as a united body understanding each other. People who do not necessarily have the same opinion may have the same mind. If we can have that, then I am quite sure we can do work of infinite value for Christians who have lost some part of the heritage which has been kept, I believe, intact within the bounds of the Anglican Communion. At any rate, that is the faith in which I personally have been brought up, it is the faith to which I have given the whole of my working life, it is the faith in which I hope to die.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

BY

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The word "structure" is a difficult one. At first it suggests a mechanical framework, or bony skeleton, which articulates the various parts of

a body and enables it to do its work. The inadequacy of such a view of the subject is obvious, since the Anglican Communion possesses no organization of this sort. It has no central executive or secretariat. It has no authority which exercises jurisdiction over the regional Churches. The provincial and regional Churches have constitutions it is true, for the Anglican Communion has no lack of ecclesiastical legislation. The legal mind has expressed itself very fully in Anglicanism; but so far it has not entered the field of inter-regional or inter-provincial relations.

LAMBETH

Now we have the Lambeth Conference, but by a constitutional paradox this body has no legislative or administrative powers. Its decisions do not become binding on the member dioceses. Its messages, reports and resolutions, are simply a record of its own considered opinions. They are sent out to the member Churches for what they are worth. The Lambeth Conference is the best formal *expression* of our unity; it might even be said that it is essential to the continuance of our unity; but it is not the *basis* of it. Yet the Lambeth Conference is a structural feature. It enables the bishops to review problems and possibilities together, to register agreement, and so promote harmonious and well-considered action throughout the whole Communion. It prevents us from getting out of step with one another.

CANTERBURY

A second unifying feature is the See of Canterbury. There is no question about the loyalty and affection with which we regard the Archbishop, whether we think of the historic succession from St. Augustine, or of the present occupant of his throne. But, actually, he does not possess jurisdiction over the whole Communion. His position of pre-eminence would appear to rest on long-continued historic tradition, which has steadily increased in dignity with the expansion of the Anglican Communion. He is the President of our world-wide episcopate. He summons the Lambeth Conference. He is its host, its chairman, and its spiritual leader. And if I may use an expression which I pick up from our French compatriots in the country in which I live, we offer him our respectful *hommages*.

THE APOSTOLIC MODEL

It was in such a way that the greater apostolic centres of Christianity acquired, in primitive times, a position of influence and prestige. Constitutional definition did not occur until much later. If the Anglican

Communion has failed to provide an efficient and central authority of an inter-provincial character, it only reflects the condition of the Primitive Church itself after the destruction of Jerusalem. The apostolic mission, which had been the creation of the Lord Himself, had by then imparted itself to the churches of the Dispersion. (And I might pause over that word. Perhaps the Anglican Communion is a Diaspora.) The apostolic mission was now vested in the episcopal order, and distributed throughout the whole world. Everywhere it organized itself in the local form of the diocese. The association of these dioceses into larger families appears remarkably early. We find regional councils being held as early as the time of Ignatius.

We see the Catholic Church quite soon in action on a larger scale, but there is no sign of a world organization. It is a question now of families of dioceses, feeling their way into some natural expression of the larger unity through the world-wide episcopate, a process which had the advantage of being both authoritative and representative at the same time, and goes on developing until it comes to its logical climax in the General Council, a feature which is beyond the scope of this paper.

The unity of these ancient Churches was due to their common origin, and their common inheritance in faith and order. It was a dynamic unity. It expressed itself everywhere in an identical pattern of church life, which had been created in every case by the impact of the original Gospel and of the original apostolic mission. Wherever the Gospel spread throughout the world, this apostolic mission was perpetuated in the Church through the episcopal order, and the same pattern of church life was propagated everywhere in a recognizably identical form. It came to the British Isles in due course. Our parent Churches, which were planted there during this primitive period, have gone through various historical vicissitudes, but they have preserved the episcopal order and the apostolic pattern with remarkable fidelity. They have continued to be true to type. They have spread from age to age. Indeed, they have ramified to the various countries of the earth which are represented here today.

Our structure, therefore, is an internal and a spiritual one, expressing itself in numerous corporate forms as it propagates itself in various parts of the earth. In every place it preserves, in the historic episcopate, the apostolic and evangelistic mission which the Lord imparted to the Church, and reproduces the pattern of church life in a recognizably identical form. Fundamentally, it does not know about any other "structure."

THE PRAYER BOOK

We do possess, however, a common standard of Christian life and behaviour in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and it is the opinion of eminent authorities that this compendium of faith, worship and church order, is the principal institutional factor which governs and maintains our unity. The Prayer Book is, so to speak, our charter, and we interpret it in the light of Christian history with the help of associated documents (such as the Thirty-Nine Articles) which have varying degrees of authority in different Anglican jurisdictions.

Even so, there are two points which have to be borne in mind. The first is that the Prayer Book is not a final authority for the whole Communion in its own right. It is a transcript which we made for our own purposes of the pattern of church life which was at one time the universal inheritance of all Christians everywhere. It is a medieval Western form of it which has been reformed in the light of evangelical faith and biblical scholarship. It has been expressed in the vernacular language and adapted to the conditions of the day. We admit that there are other forms which are also valid, though they differ from ours. Ours is a form, therefore, of this pattern—not the only form.

Secondly, we do not think that it is a complete or exhaustive record of the primitive tradition, though it comprehends in a satisfactory way, we think, all its main features. The work was well done, as the widespread dissemination and influence of the Book proves, and this is all the more remarkable since it seems to be the first attempt to reduce the tradition as a whole into written form.

The Prayer Book has undergone various revisions, and has been supplemented in various ways, in the different jurisdictions of the Anglican Communion. These local variations have been no bar to mutual recognition. There is apparently a recognizable character which has been maintained in every case. Yet there are signs of a problem here which might conceivably prove embarrassing in the future. How far is variation from the Prayer Book standard permissible?

It becomes clear then that the Anglican Communion refers, and would refer in such a dilemma, to a historical standard which is larger than itself. It falls back upon the Catholic tradition as a whole, especially in its most primitive phase in the period of the Apostles and their successors, always referring in the last resort to the Holy Scriptures as received and used in the Catholic Church.

OUR SPIRITUAL UNITY

It would seem therefore, that the "structure" of the Anglican Communion depends upon an organic spiritual principle in the Church

which propagates itself in a recognizably identical form from generation to generation. The unity of the one Body is the creation of the one Spirit—the life and power and motion which comes from God Himself and is God in life and motion in the fellowship of believers.

The Anglican Communion has no founder or special theology, in which it differs from the Reformation Churches of other types. It went through violent and forceful vicissitudes in the Reformation period, but it emerged without any new dogmatic emphasis of its own. The old religious life flowed on in the old religious channels. Medieval theologies were repudiated, but Reformation theologies were not taken on board.

There has been an astonishing theological variety inside the Anglican Communion. Different theological views have been freely advocated. We remember that the wind of the Holy Spirit blew freely within the Apostolic Church, and that there was a ministry of prophets and teachers within the apostolic order. To speak contrary things in Christ; to pursue the study of the truth at all costs; to have the free life of the mind and of the spirit within the Catholic order; this may turn out to be our happiest achievement.

We Anglicans do not seem ever to have thought that some one form of theology should become the basis of our structural unity to the exclusion of other forms of theology, and this is a notable fact since theology is so widely acclaimed today in ecumenical discussions as a uniting factor. It could equally well be urged that it is a dividing factor. It could even be urged at times that it is a “non-theological” factor. Theologies arise from time to time and perform an important work in criticising the Church and interpreting it to itself, and to the age in which it lives; but they are not, I think, primary creative factors in the Church’s tradition. The primary creative factor in the Anglican approach to the nature and structure of the Church as a whole would appear to be the idea of Gospel and liturgy, or Gospel-in-liturgy, if we may use that word in the broadest sense for the *de facto* historical continuum of life and faith and worship in the fellowship which forms the actual existential substance of historic Christianity. It is Spirit continually clothing itself in bodily historical form, the structural features being the creation of this inner life, which is from God.

THE LARGER IMPLICATIONS

It would appear that Anglican theory and practice thinks of ecumenical structure in terms of dioceses or families of dioceses which

come into existence as they branch out from the vine of the existential Church, their basis of union being one of mutual recognition which issues in mutual admission to communion.

It is a fascinating principle, since it is capable of extension beyond the historic pale of the Anglican Communion. This extension is taking place slowly and stickily, but "with unhurrying pace, and unperturbed chase, majestic speed, deliberate instancy." We are in full communion with the Old Catholic Church, for instance. This does not, of course, imply that the Old Catholic Church is a part of the Anglican Communion, but it expands the circle of mutual recognition to include a non-Anglican church—a rather distant relation, but a relation nevertheless. It is clear that this principle cannot go further without having a marked effect upon the Anglican world. As we enter into recognitional relations with other Communions, the boundaries of the Anglican Communion may become a little indistinct, may one day merge into a wider horizon.

We must leave this fascinating topic at this stage, since relations with other Churches is a subject allotted to another speaker. But our own subject leads us to make three points. The first is that our principle of regional autonomy and mutual recognition is leading us into ecumenical adventures which will have their effect upon our domestic practice and policy. We cannot remain unchanged. We may at some point become enriched; and at another, perhaps, rather relax our rubrical resistance, in such matters as intercommunion, for instance.

The second is that we may be making our best contribution to the ecumenical movement at this very point: in the model we present of a *de facto* combination of Evangelical and Catholic elements in a free fraternal fellowship, which is based simply on mutual recognition which we now allow can be a matter of degree. It is possible that we have the right approach here, and that what is called "corporate" reunion or even "organic" reunion, may be a false ideal borrowed from the business or political world, that is, if it involves subordination to some constitutional plan imposed at the top level. Improved fraternal relations leading to further degrees of recognition may be the better way; it is the way of fellowship and love.

And third, the dangers and excitements of the time make it all the more necessary that we should have practical modes of consultation and co-operation, so that we may give our witness and pursue our work as a Communion harmoniously and effectively. We must create forms of organization as a Communion along the lines of our historic tradition which will be adequate for us at this time.

INTER-ANGLICAN RELATIONS

(1) The *Lambeth Conference* of Anglican bishops was first called by the Archbishop of Canterbury at the suggestion of the Provincial Synod of Canada, of which I have the honour to be the present Metropolitan. The suggestion was made by my predecessor, Archbishop Travers Lewis. It is the natural expression, in terms of apostolic church order, of the great ecumenical tradition in which all Churches share. It supplies a forum for the exchange of information, the discussion of emergent problems, and the expression of the mind of the bishops there assembled.

(2) It also supplies a basis for continued consultation and co-ordination in its *Consultative Committee*, which is representative of all parts of our Communion, and works with the Archbishop of Canterbury as required.

(3) We can now add a third in the *Anglican Congress* as a more representative, though less official assembly, gathering together clergy and laity, as well as bishops. The first was held in London in 1908; the second here in Minneapolis in 1954. We believe that it will do much to make Anglicans more conscious of their position in the world, and to clarify their thinking.

(4) The use of a recognized manual of *Prayer and Intercession* for the Anglican Communion throughout the world is another mode of drawing us together in the presence of God. Perhaps, as a result of this Congress, such prayers will be much more widely used.

(5) The transformation of *St. Augustine's College*, Canterbury, into a school of advanced studies for the whole Anglican Communion, which will provide us, as time goes on, with a central institution where our various theological problems can be studied, and where scholars from all parts of the Anglican world may associate with one another.

(6) Another new important departure is the *Strategy Committee* which will attempt to co-ordinate our thinking and policy on world affairs, working out lines of general policy for the Communion as a whole.

(7) I would like to mention also the recent incursion into the field of journalism by American Anglicans, the occasional magazine called *Pan Anglican* which has told our story in an attractive and effective style. I have suggested that there may be some degree of tension in our Church in the future as the Ecumenical Movement proceeds, and increasing pressure is brought to bear upon us from various quarters. During this period it will be necessary for us to supply information to the member Churches and to the world at large in order to clarify our position. We shall need a bureau of information and research, and a

department of public relations. We must congratulate the staff of the *Pan Anglican* on taking the first step in this important field.

Anglicans everywhere are proud of their Church, but are not always well informed, perhaps, on its position in the world today. The amount of organization which is sketched under these seven heads, is not a bit too much for us if we are to play the part in the world situation which we are called upon to do. We must exchange ideas, we must promote thought, we must develop policies, we must stimulate action. Our member Churches must become conscious of themselves as parts of a world-wide Church. They must learn that, while we have no world-constitution, we need to organize ourselves on a fraternal co-operative basis, and that we actually do possess fraternal world-organization which needs their intelligent support.

THE OLD-TIME RELIGION

We have no ecclesiastical world-organization, because we have no particular theology, or theories, or practices, of our own. We stand for the old historic Christian religion in the form in which we have received it. We want it in its fulness, but without those dogmatic and liturgical developments which we think are foreign to the Primitive Church. We believe in a holy ecumenical Church after the Evangelical and Catholic and Apostolic pattern, and that is why we cannot complete our own organization at the ecumenical level. If we did that we would become a sect. As it is, we are a family of dioceses or provinces which is conscious of a close family connection within the ecumenical unity, which is greater than we are.

We stand together for that true ecumenical Christianity, as it was before our divisions, as it will be in the future when all our divisions are healed, and it is God's good pleasure to bring in His Kingdom.

It's the old-time religion,
It's the old-time religion,
It's the old-time religion,
And it's good enough for me.

OUR PLACE IN CHRISTENDOM AND OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER COMMUNIONS

BY

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I. OUR PLACE IN CHRISTENDOM

The theme allotted me reminds us, as does Evanston, that our Anglican Communion is only a tiny fraction of the total company of Christians on earth which we call Christendom. According to some published statistics we cannot compare in numbers with the Baptists or with the Lutherans, with the Orthodox or with the Presbyterians and Reformed, or with the Roman Catholics. Our own child, Methodism, about equals its parent in stature. And if we add the Congregationalists, and the many smaller Communion (some of which, like the Quakers and Moravians, have a Christian influence out of all proportion to their numbers; while others, such as the so-called Pentecostal sects, are in many places expanding far more rapidly than any of the older Churches except possibly Rome) we shall be optimistic if we claim to be numerically about five per cent of Christendom¹ and to have an influence not less in proportion.

¹ This figure is based on a statement issued at the Congress by the Archbishop of Canterbury in response to questions from members of the Press. The text of the statement is as follows:

"There is no universally acknowledged standard by which to measure the number of adherents to different Christian Communion. The total number of Christians is thought to be about 800,000,000, but this figure is obviously not open to any reliable check.

"Roman Catholics estimate their numbers throughout the world at 423,000,000; the Orthodox population is estimated at 160,000,000. In either case it is probable that these figures give an unrealistic picture regarding adult adherents, since calculations are based on the number of children baptised or presumed to belong on general grounds of geographical boundaries.

"Of other Churches, Lutherans claim 68,500,000 adherents; Presbyterians and Reformed, 41,000,000; Baptists, 40,000,000; Methodists, 30,000,000; and Congregationalists, 5,000,000. The Anglican total is given in some reference books as 30,000,000, but this is a serious understatement. A more probable figure would be over 40,000,000.

"On the basis of the above figures, it may be said as a rough guide that of the whole Christian population some 52% are Roman Catholics, 20% Orthodox, 23% belong to the various Protestant bodies mentioned above, and 5% are Anglicans. It is also probable that the total Anglican population comes below that of the

Our place in Christendom is thus a small one, and modesty becomes us better than inflated claims. If we allowed ourselves to imagine for a moment that Christendom revolved round us, we should make ourselves ridiculous. But our place, though small, may perhaps be significant. We may have some modest but distinctive contribution to make towards Christendom's task of extending Christ's Kingdom and building up His Church. If so, we are right to ask what kind of place in Christendom we are meant by God to fill, and what should be our relations with the other Communions in Christendom.

I believe that typical Anglican thinking on this subject starts from two convictions: that the Church of Christ ought to be one visibly united society; but that in fact it is visibly divided. It ought to be one visible society because the purpose of our Lord's redeeming work is to reconcile all men to God and to each other and to bring us all into a single community life as one Family of God. This unity is, indeed, essentially one of love, of heart and spirit. But we are too strongly sacramental in our outlook to imagine that you can divorce the inward and spiritual from the outward and visible. Only a single shared outward life of worship, fellowship and witness can adequately either mediate or express the spiritual unity of the People of God.

In the New Testament the Church is presented as one visible society in which the only separateness which is recognized as legitimate is that of physical distance. To accommodate itself to the facts of geography, this one Church had in each place its one local expression and microcosm, the local church comprising all Christians in that place. Such local churches might largely manage their own affairs, and needed not to be alike in all details; but they had no standing at all save as being, each in its own place, the local embodiment of the one universal Church. For this reason there could be only one in each place, and it must be in full communion with the whole Church and all its other local manifestations. The early Church held to this ideal; and the *Ecclesia Anglicana* itself began life with the simple aim of being the one local representative in England of the one Church Catholic. At the Reformation it made the same claim, simply reasserting the liberty, allowed by the New Testament but denied by the Papacy, of local or regional Churches to manage their own lives and to differ from each other in matters not essential. The spread of Anglicanism to other lands, and the rise of other Communions in England, have transformed Anglicanism from a regional Church into a world-wide denomination or Communion. We are bound together, and we justify our existence,

Lutherans and is equal to or above that of the Presbyterian and Reformed, or the Baptists."

not by a claim to be the one legitimate local Church of any particular area, but by the claim to possess a distinctive understanding of Christian faith, worship and order. But I believe that we still hold as our ideal that the Church should be so visibly one as to have one regional Church in each place to represent it, such regional Churches being in full fellowship with each other; and that this ideal underlies most of our thinking about reunion.

Our second conviction is that this ideal is not at present attained; the visible Church of Christ is divided. Here we break with patristic and medieval thought, which usually held that visible unity was so much part of the Divine plan for the Church that it could not be broken even by sin. If Christendom divided, all save one of the parts had separated from the Church, and lacked all real connection with it. They might have its outward forms, even a valid Ministry and Sacraments, but they had neither Christ nor the Spirit, neither salvation nor charity. The one remaining group was the Church, which thus continued with its borders contracted but with its unity unimpaired. This theory is still held by the Roman and Orthodox Churches, though its rigour may be modified in certain ways. But the Anglican Communion never says of itself, as Rome and Orthodoxy each says of itself, "We are the Catholic Church and no one else is." By refusing to claim for any single Communion that it is, solely and exclusively, the Catholic Church we are admitting that the Catholic Church is divided. For nothing could be more obvious than the separation which exists between the various Communions which we recognize as sharing, at least to some degree, in the nature of the Church of Christ.

Anglicans would not draw from these two basic convictions precisely the same inferences about the status of the various Communions and their relations to the Church of Christ. But representative Anglican pronouncements like the last three Lambeth Conference Reports, together with actual church unity negotiations, and the writings of Anglican theologians of such diverse traditions as the authors of *Catholicity* and *The Fullness of Christ*, suggest that we are developing a broadly agreed approach to this question, along lines something like the following.

First, we recognize that the divided state of the Church is itself a distortion of the Church's nature; and we all share in the dividedness and therefore in the distortion. Moreover, our divisions isolate us from the corrective and balancing influence of the rest of the Church and so give free rein to the tendency of all merely partial groups to exaggerate some aspects of truth and ignore others. Schism is not only itself a distortion; it leads to still further disturbance of the propor-

tion of the faith in all the separated bodies. No Communion perfectly presents the true pattern of the Church, and so no Communion can minister the fullness of Christ's grace. In a divided Church, no one Communion can have full catholicity. Secondly, however, we recognize the fruit of the Spirit wherever we actually meet with Christian faith, life and fellowship. We acknowledge that the Holy Spirit is present in any Communion which produces this fruit and that He is using that Communion to minister to its members the redeemed community life of the People of God. All such Communions are in fact being used by God to fulfil the very purpose which the Church of Christ exists to fulfil, and they therefore have something at least of the character of that Church. Thus we have largely ceased to draw rigid lines, to say "This is a true Church, and that is not. This body is 'catholic' and that is not." Rather we say that all Communions have something of the character of the Church but that none has it completely; all have some marks of the Church but in all they are partial and distorted. One Communion may reflect the character of the Church more fully than another; one may be defective in a way in which another is not. But all minister the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, the common life of the Body of Christ; and all do so with varying degrees of imperfection.

Thirdly, and as a consequence, we recognize that we all need to have our partial and imperfect traditions supplemented and corrected by those elements of truth which have been better grasped by other Communions; and this can only take place effectively within the fellowship of a reunited Church. Just as disunity is itself a perversion and leads to further perversions through the isolation which it creates, so the reunion of the Church is itself a recovery of catholicity and paves the way for further growth into the fullness of Christ. Fourthly, however, reunion can only have this effect if each uniting Communion is able to bring into the reunited Church its own distinctive contribution to the process of mutual edification and correction. Therefore, while obviously there must be agreement on essentials, there must also be a very wide measure of freedom and variety, so that diverse traditions may live together and learn from each other within the one Church. Reunion must be neither the submission of one partial tradition to another, nor the further impoverishment of them all by excluding everything except what is common to all, but the bringing of them together for mutual enrichment and purification within a framework of agreed essentials.

This last point leads straight to the question: "If this be the nature of Christian Communions in general, what is the distinctive contribu-

tion which the Anglican Communion can make to the reunited Church of the future?" For I believe that we are increasingly realizing that if, as a Communion, we have any special insight into Christian truth, it is in this matter of the combination of variety with unity. The Amsterdam World Council Assembly was surely right in describing the chasm between the "catholic" and "protestant" traditions as "our deepest difference." Yet the Anglican Communion succeeds more fully, perhaps, than any other in holding these two traditions together in one spiritual and visible fellowship. Other Communion may perhaps be able to bear fuller and clearer corporate witness to the great truths of "protestantism"; to the primacy of Scripture; the converting and sanctifying power of the Word of God; justification by faith; and personal experience of the Holy Spirit. Other Communion may perhaps be able to bear fuller and clearer corporate witness to the great truths of "catholicism"; to the Church as Christ's body and the home of salvation; the Sacraments as a means of grace; the Eucharist as the focus of the Church's adoration and oblation; and the episcopate as a link with the Church of the Apostles. But what we can bear a special witness to is that these traditions need not be so contradictory as to necessitate a breach of Church fellowship; they can be and are amongst us held together in one body, not indeed at present fully reconciled and integrated with each other but at least in fellowship with each other and able to enrich and correct each other within a shared Church life. Our experience of this is surely the special contribution which we can corporately offer to the task of bringing Christendom's still more diverse traditions within a single fold.

II. OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER COMMUNIONS

If what has been said so far represents at all truly, at least in its broad outlines, a way of thinking about Christendom and our place in it which is characteristic of contemporary Anglicanism, it will, I think, help to explain our actual relations with other Communion in recent years, and to show a unity of principle underlying their often confusing appearance on the surface.

These relations have been increasingly dominated during the twentieth century by our quest for unity. No other Communion, I think, has felt the divisions of Christendom as a greater burden upon, and challenge to, its conscience. The bold creative gesture of the Lambeth Appeal of 1920 with its lofty vision, its charity and humility, its call to action; the innumerable negotiations with all sorts of Churches with which we have followed it up, and are still following it up; our leadership in the South India Union scheme; the central place given to

matters of unity by successive Lambeth Conferences; the notable place of Anglicans in the Faith and Order Movement and the World Council of Churches, are testimonies to the pressure which reunion makes upon our conscience. If Anglicanism has thus been (as I believe it has) one of the goads by which the conscience of Christendom has been stabbed awake to the sin of its disunity, I think it is because we hold so strongly (with the main "catholic" tradition) the immense importance of the Church's visible unity, yet also hold (with the main "protestant" tradition) that this unity, so far from being indefectible, has in fact been broken. We cannot blunt the edge of God's demand by arguing either that we are ourselves the one visible Church and that it is simply "up to" others to join us, or that it is sufficient for the Church to have inward and spiritual unity and therefore our outward divisions are of secondary importance.

The kind of reunion which we have sought has also been consonant with the line of thought sketched above. First, our aim has been an organic visible unity though of a decentralised kind. With the Lambeth Appeal we have envisaged as the goal one visible society with a single framework of faith, sacraments and ministry, existing in the form of a united autonomous regional Church in each place, such regional Churches being in full communion with each other. We have recognized that there may be stages to be gone through on the way to this goal. We have therefore participated in movements for inter-Church friendship, understanding and cooperation; and we have tried to work out schemes for intercommunion between Churches still autonomous and separate from each other, through the attainment of a commonly recognized Ministry. But we have clearly and repeatedly affirmed that co-operation is not enough; and that even intercommunion between Churches in the same area (as distinct from the full communion proper between the regional Churches of different areas) is only a worthy aim if it is meant to lead on ultimately to reunion into one ecclesiastical body. Secondly, our aim has been a comprehensive unity. The Lambeth Appeal envisaged a society which would include all the existing Communion, "catholic" and "protestant" alike, and we have subsequently initiated conversations with Churches of the most diverse types. No other Communion, I imagine, has conducted discussions alike with the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans, the Orthodox and the Presbyterians, the Old Catholics and the Baptists, the lesser Eastern Churches and the Methodists, to name only some of those with whom we have parleyed.

Thirdly, our aim has been unity based on variety within a framework of agreed essentials. The Lambeth Appeal compressed the

necessary framework into the four simple but fundamental points of the Quadrilateral; the Scriptures, the Creeds, the Sacraments of the Gospel, and a commonly recognized Ministry to be secured through the Historic Episcopate; and envisaged a wide liberty within this framework for the different traditions to bring in their respective heritages. The South India Union gave effect to this principle by laying down that all the uniting Churches might retain the whole of their doctrinal, liturgical, and other traditions in so far as they did not contradict the agreed Constitution of the Church, which Constitution deliberately restricted itself so far as was practicable to essentials; and this method of procedure (provided that the Constitution does in fact cover the essentials) has not, I think, been challenged. If there can be such variety within one Church, the same holds good even more obviously as between Churches which seek to have intercommunion with each other while remaining autonomous. Hence our Concordat with the Old Catholics declared that for full intercommunion complete doctrinal and liturgical agreement is unnecessary; what is required is simply that each Church shall recognize the catholicity of the other and that it holds all the essentials of the Christian Faith. It is presumably because we have sought reunion of the kind described that the last two Lambeth Conferences have hoped for, not feared, the eventual disappearance of the Anglican Communion itself. We do not want everyone to become Anglicans—to lose their heritages and adopt ours. Even less do we want to lose our heritage and replace it by another. We hope to carry it with us into a reunited Church where we shall share it with others and they will share theirs with us.

An essential part of this heritage of ours is our experience of holding together our “catholic” and “protestant” traditions in one body; and in our quest for unity we have therefore tried to ensure that so long as we remain a distinct Communion our relation with others is not incompatible with the maintenance of this variety in our own body, and that when we merge with others there shall be room for both traditions in the reunited Church. This has made our path hard. Communion of a uniformly “catholic” or “protestant” type naturally find it hard to come to terms with the other tradition, which is usually both strange and repugnant to them. Yet they must do so if they are to enter into relations with our Communion which contains both traditions. Thus, for example, our insistence on the supremacy of the Bible alone as the ultimate standard of doctrine (an essential and symbolic part of our “protestant” heritage) together with the presence in our Communion of the Evangelical interpretation of the doctrines of the Church and

Sacraments, have been felt by the Orthodox as a major obstacle to unity with us, while our insistence on episcopacy (an essential and symbolic part of our "catholic" heritage) together with the presence in our Communion of the Anglo-Catholic interpretation of the doctrines of the Church and Sacraments, have been felt as a similar impediment by most of the major "protestant" Churches.

Nor have the difficulties been felt only by others. We ourselves, with our divergent traditions, have often found it difficult to decide what steps towards unity are right and necessary acts of obedience to the will of God, and what are departures from the truth of the Gospel. The uneasiness of Evangelicals over some phases of our dealings with the Orthodox, and of Anglo-Catholics over some features of the South India scheme are obvious examples. Two things, I think, have saved us from the kind of collision amongst ourselves which would endanger our own unity. The first is that where a corporate decision has been necessary over a disputed matter, we have genuinely respected each other's consciences. We do not simply steamroller a proposal for action through, regardless of the convictions of the minority; but neither do we wait until we are all agreed that the proposal is good and right. The latter would violate the conscience of those who think the step right just as much as the former would violate the conscience of those who think it wrong. Instead, we have tended to act after long and careful debate, and to accompany the action by safeguards sufficient to protect the convictions and position of the minority as loyal members of our Communion. Such safeguards may seem disappointing and even in themselves harmful to those who would go forward, but they are accepted for the sake of the minority. And the minority are for the sake of the majority content to acquiesce in the step forward provided such safeguards are given; they may still think the step a bad and unwise one, but it is not necessary to agree with everything your Church does, provided it does not ask you, implicitly or explicitly, through your membership of it to deny your fundamental beliefs. Thus, for example, in 1937 many Evangelicals strongly opposed a proposed statement of the Anglican faith designed to show our agreement with, and to secure recognition from, the Rumanian Orthodox Church. But they were able to acquiesce in its approval by the Canterbury Convocation because their position was protected by its approval only as "a legitimate interpretation" of the Anglican faith, not the only or the official interpretation. Or again, the South India Union scheme was strongly opposed by many Anglo-Catholics; but they were able to acquiesce in its approval by the

Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon because their position was protected by the understanding that intercommunion with the united Church would be, in the initial stages at least, only partial.

Secondly we have avoided collision amongst ourselves by allowing a wide liberty to vary in our practice where corporate action is unnecessary or impossible. This liberty exists as between the constituent Churches of our Communion. For example, the bishops at Lambeth 1948 recognized that there would be different rules in different parts of our Communion about intercommunion with South India; and pledged themselves not to allow this to interfere with our fellowship with each other. It exists also as between individuals. For example, Anglicans have never agreed about the extent to which it is proper to admit to Holy Communion members of other Churches (especially non-episcopal Churches) who wish to join us as visitors or on other special occasions nor on how far we ought to accept similar hospitality from them. This is a matter which throughout our history has been left mostly to the individual, and still is today. Recent Lambeth Conference resolutions suggest that the difference is more one of degree than of absolute contradiction. For while they have emphasized the occasional and special character of the circumstances in which they would approve the giving of such hospitality, they do recognize it as legitimate on certain occasions; and are also (though much more guardedly) prepared to contemplate the converse practice in certain specified and exceptional circumstances. Such resolutions, though without legal authority, indicate a certain amount of common ground. But remarkable divergences of practice still exist. In some West African dioceses, for example, it is the normal and recognized custom for Anglicans and Methodists to communicate in each other's churches when out of reach of their own; in other dioceses along the coast such a practice is unknown. A German Lutheran visiting England will be refused permission to communicate by one Church of England vicar, but will be warmly welcomed by the vicar of the next parish. At ecumenical gatherings non-Anglican delegates will sometimes be invited to communicate with us, as at Oxford 1937; sometimes they will be asked not to do so, as at Amsterdam 1948. And at services of Holy Communion conducted by other Churches at such gatherings (for example the Dutch Reformed Service at Amsterdam) some Anglicans will communicate while others will refrain. Such variety of practice is, indeed, a source of confusion to others and to ourselves. But it is the necessary price of the comprehensive character of our Communion; for practices of this kind, whether they be positive or negative, are based upon deep religious and theological convictions, and

neither could be made compulsory or forbidden without causing an almost intolerable conflict of conscience for one tradition amongst us or the other. And is it not better that each should be free to follow his conscience, and thus by the very variety of our practice to give an honest expression of the comprehensive character of our Communion, than to impose a uniformity of practice which would commit our Communion officially to one position or the other long in advance of our having any common mind upon the subject?

Despite the difficulties inherent in the kind of quest for unity to which we have set ourselves in the last half-century, we have been granted substantial, if limited, fruit of our labours; and that in three directions.

Most notable has been the increase of friendship, understanding and co-operation between us and nearly all other Christian Communions. The spirit of partnership has very largely superseded the spirit of rivalry, and if the Church of Rome is a partial exception to this it is not for want of efforts on our side. The new spirit finds expression in countless personal contacts and interdenominational activities; and at the official level it is symbolized by our full and active participation in such ecumenical bodies as the World Council of Churches, the International Missionary Council, and their local counterparts. This fellowship and co-operation fall far short of full unity; indeed it is because it in no way compromises our autonomy as Churches or commits us to judgments about other Churches, that we can enter unreservedly and unitedly into the Ecumenical Movement. But it is a tremendous step forward. For it means that Churches of all the main non-Roman traditions have at last recognized that underlying their real and important differences there is a still more real and important bond uniting them; that though we are separate as Churches yet we are one in Jesus Christ; and that we are therefore committed to realizing ever more fully our fellowship in Him, to witnessing together in His Name, and to praying and thinking together that we may learn His way of giving to our unity in Him its fitting consummation of unity in one Church. Of the already impressive achievements of the Ecumenical Movement in the service of the Gospel, the Churches, and suffering mankind, this is not the time to speak. But even more significant is the new spirit which it both expresses and fosters, the spirit summed up in the declaration of the first World Council Assembly in the words "Here at Amsterdam we have committed ourselves afresh to Him, and have covenanted with each other in constituting this World Council of Churches. We intend to stay together."

Secondly, there has been some advance in intercommunion and/or

sharing of ministerial functions with other Churches. With greater or less formality, relations have been established between one, some, or all of our constituent Churches and a number of other Churches which differ considerably both from each other and from us, but which like us combine a biblical doctrinal basis with episcopal order, and thus reassure both our "protestant" and "catholic" elements that they have sufficient catholicity to justify the measure of fellowship attained in each case. These Churches include the Old Catholics, the only non-Anglican body with whom we yet have a formal agreement for full intercommunion; the Lutheran Churches of Sweden, Finland and the Baltic; the Mar Thoma Syrian Church; the Church of South India; the Philippine Independent Church; and the small Protestant Episcopal Churches in Spain and Portugal. In addition there is, as we have seen, a substantial custom of occasional intercommunion on the basis of traditional individual liberty between many members of our Communion and members of other Churches; and some part of this custom has received a guarded blessing from recent Lambeth Conferences both as regards the non-episcopal Churches and also (in so far as the latter also approved it) the Orthodox Churches.

Thirdly, there has been one instance of the achievement of corporate reunion, that of South India where the four southern dioceses of the Anglican Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, acting with the full consent of that Church, united in 1947 (to quote the last Lambeth Report) "amid great joy, joy in the Lord" with the Methodist Church of South India, and the so-called South India United Church, itself a union body including Presbyterian and Congregationalist elements. Never before has there been a reunion so significant for the whole Church; for here for the first time the episcopal and non-episcopal, the Anglican and non-Anglican traditions have been reconciled in one Church. Here for the first time the vision of Lambeth 1920 of diverse traditions coming together within the framework of the Quadri-lateral, with freedom to bring with them the wealth of their separate heritages and together to grow into a Church more fully catholic than any of them could be in isolation, has received a measure of fulfilment. True, there have been features of the scheme which have caused grave anxiety to many Anglicans, centering chiefly though not entirely around the provision that, while episcopal ordination was to be the Church's rule from the start, ministers of all the uniting Churches at the time of the union were to be accepted as ministers of the united Church whether ordained episcopally or otherwise. These difficulties have meant that a substantial minority of the Lambeth Conference in 1948 felt bound to suspend judgment on the theological status of the

united Church until it had proved itself in actual life; and it was recognized from the start that our intercommunion with the united Church would in the early stages be incomplete. But the majority of the Lambeth Conference was able at once to acknowledge the Church's catholicity sufficiently to justify recognition of the status of its episcopally ordained clergy, and all were able to give general endorsement to the Committee on Unity's Report which included the affirmations that "For the measure of unity achieved in this unique event we rejoice and give thanks to God" and that "We are all united in looking forward hopefully and with longing to the day when there shall be full communion between the Church of South India and the Churches of our Communion. We pledge ourselves to do all in our power by work and prayer alike to hasten such a happy consummation of the heroic experiment in reunion now being made in South India under the guidance as we believe of the Holy Spirit." I think it would be generally agreed that the subsequent history of the Church of South India has done much to set doubts at rest and to confirm this hope.

III. PROSPECT FOR THE FUTURE

These advances towards unity are not perhaps in themselves very impressive. The Anglican Communion is, indeed, much less isolated than either the Roman Catholic or Orthodox Communion. But we have a far less wide range of fellowship than many of the leading Protestant Churches; many of them have unrestricted intercommunion with each other and would gladly do so with us; and in many countries, especially those of the younger Churches, corporate reunion schemes have been carried into effect, often embracing all the major denominations at work there except the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans. We have to beware lest our dual tradition, instead of helping us to reach out both to "catholic" and to "protestant" Christendom should rather keep us separate from both, and thus draw us out of the mainstream of Christian life into the stagnancy and desiccation which always threaten a relatively small Christian group if it allows itself to become isolated and self-enclosed. Yet considering the special difficulty of the task to which we have felt called, I venture to think that the results so far granted to us are substantial and significant; that we should be encouraged to believe that we are on the course we are intended to take; and that if we pursue it energetically and without flagging we may, through Divine grace, receive a yet greater blessing and fulfilment in the future.

If this is to be so, four qualities of mind will, I would suggest, be specially required of us. The first is that we should treat Church

relations as a matter of discipleship rather than of diplomacy. Our Communion are not sovereign states free to follow their own interests or judgments; we are sundere groups of God's children bidden by the one Father to be reconciled to each other. Wherever we may have this reconciliation, at any cost save disloyalty to God, we must have it, and have it now. We dare not defer it through prudential considerations or the cold-blooded scheming which would seek to induce one group of our brethren to become more friendly to us in the future by deliberately keeping others at arm's length now. Nor dare we indulge in the sectarian spirit which is content to have fellowship only with like-minded folk; which never gets to know the children of God from whom it differs within as well as without our Communion, and therefore remains so ignorant of the riches of Christ in them that it can commit the blasphemy of thinking and even speaking pityingly or slightingly of them. And we need to be delivered from the prejudiced and emotional judgments, the over-rosy and over-gloomy propaganda, the threats and the pressure groups which import the methods of the political market place into the holy Temple of God.

The second quality is intellectual honesty and open-mindedness. The comparative neglect of the doctrine of the Church in past centuries combines with the novelty of the contemporary pattern of Christendom to present us with a baffling theological task as we try to analyze our present situation and its significance for Church unity. There are, indeed, signs that we may be entering upon a period of creative growth in our understanding of the nature of the Church; and we can at least help in this by refraining from cocksure judgments and by examining our assumptions to see how far they are consistent both with our own total pattern of belief and also with the facts of the contemporary situation. Is it not odd, for example, that Protestants who often emphasize the symbolic aspect of sacraments nevertheless commonly plead for intercommunion as an instrumental means of achieving unity and therefore want it to precede and prepare the way for corporate reunion, while Catholics who often emphasize the instrumental aspect of sacraments commonly speak of intercommunion as the seal and symbol of unity already achieved, and therefore want it to come after and as the expression of corporate reunion? Or again, we believe about the Communion from which we differ almost exactly the opposite of what Cyprian and Augustine believed about the Communion from which they differed. We acknowledge in the Communion separated from us the spiritual blessing and grace of God, but have doubts about their outward forms. The Fathers often acknowledged in the Communion separated from them the right out-

ward forms but denied that they had the spiritual blessing and grace of God. How far then can we apply to our modern situation a Cyprianic or Augustinian theology of the Church, the Ministry, and the nature of schism, which was based on a different diagnosis of a different situation?

The third quality is eagerness to use to the full the degree of unity we already possess, and to welcome any fresh instalment of unity that may become legitimate and possible. We need to translate into parochial terms the fellowship within and without our own Communion which we experience at gatherings like this or the forthcoming one at Evanston. An impressive superstructure of fellowship at the top will be a rickety affair unless it is built on a broad foundation in the life of the parishes. When the parson and his congregation, and the parson and congregation of different churchmanship in the next parish, and the Methodist minister and his congregation down the road, and the Orthodox priest and his congregation across the way are no longer content with occasional civilities; when they are giving time, trouble and imagination to getting to know each other, to praying and working together within the quite generous limits allowed by the strictest ecclesiastical rules, then Church relations will be seen as an issue which touches the real life of the Church rather than being principally an affair of constitutional or theological purists. Again, if in the near future we find ourselves confronted with a Church of South India which has proved by its practice as well as its professions that it has sincerely accepted the Lambeth Quadrilateral which we have so often proclaimed to be the condition of unity, our alacrity in completing full communion with that Church will be a crucial test not only of the reliability of our solemn word, not only of our continued loyalty to the principles which have hitherto preserved unity amongst ourselves, but also of whether as a Communion we are dominated by the brotherly and catholic or by the isolationist and sectarian temper of mind.

The fourth quality is reverence for freedom and ability to rejoice in variety in the Body of Christ. The biblical analogy of the Body emphasizes the unity and the variety of the members equally: they go together. The Holy Spirit's work is to make us one in love but different in character and function so that our varied gifts, harmonized by love, may together express the fullness of Christ. Freedom and variety can, of course, degenerate into individualism and confusion, and because we are sinners we cannot dispense with law, even in the Church. But we mistake the character of the Body of Christ if we forget that liberty not law, variety not uniformity, is the biblical

correlative of its unity in love. And in Church history is it not clear that most of the creative movements which have enriched the Church, not excluding Paul's emancipation of the Gentiles or Athanasius' championship of the credal novelty by which the doctrine of our Lord's divinity was saved, have begun with individuals or groups who seemed in their time to differ dangerously from the general norm? As myself by nature a legalist, I learn much from Emerson's dictum that "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen, philosophers and divines." Let us then be jealous to preserve for each Church in our Communion and for individuals and unofficial groups within it the maximum opportunity for freedom and adventure in exploring the riches of Christ, not least in the sphere of Church relations and unity, without committing anyone but themselves but without any sense of disloyalty to our Communion or breach of fellowship with its members. Certainly such freedom involves much untidiness and much strain, and mistakes will be made. But there will be also the leading of the Spirit, and the pathfinders who will discover ways forward for us all. And perhaps as the Church on earth is called to be a pilgrim band, we need to be more frightened of the neatness and security which can be had by staying at home than of the dishevelment, the anxieties, and the gropings for the path which are the lot of all who go on trek.

As the delegates left the church after the afternoon speakers had finished, mimeographed copies of the three addresses were given them for study and reference in the discussion sessions. On the following morning, Friday, August 6, the discussion groups met from 9:30 to 11:30 A.M., followed by a meeting of the group chairmen and secretaries with the BISHOP OF OLYMPIA (the Rt. Rev. Stephen F. Bayne, Jr.), Executive Group Chairman, and members of the Editorial Committee. There the findings and resolutions brought from the twenty groups were subjected to a rigorous process of selection and conflation. Working under considerable pressure during the noon hour, DR. SEELEY, BISHOP ALLEN, and other members of the Editorial Committee prepared the findings and affirmations in the form of a preliminary draft which was rapidly mimeographed and distributed to the delegates as they assembled for discussion in full session at 2:30 P.M.¹

¹ This procedure was followed after each set of speeches on the Congress topics. A glance at the *Daily Program of the Congress*, reprinted in Appendix II, will make clear the sequence of group meetings, meetings of chairmen and secretaries, and Congress discussion sessions throughout the ten days of the work of the Congress.

Friday afternoon's Congress discussion session on the topic *Our Vocation* was presided over by the BISHOP OF WASHINGTON (the Rt. Rev. Angus Dun), acting as Moderator. After the report of the deliberations of the discussion groups was read by the HON. R. E. BALDWIN (United States), Secretary of Group 17, CANON H. G. G. HERKLOTS (England), Chairman of Group 3, and CANON T. O. WEDEL (United States), Chairman of Group 1, commented upon important points in the statement as drafted. A lively discussion ensued as a number of changes were suggested and amendments offered, many of which were referred by vote of the Congress to the Editorial Committee for its guidance in redrafting the statement. At the conclusion of the session the BISHOP OF WASHINGTON put a motion for the preliminary acceptance of the findings in substance, subject to editorial revision and final presentation to the delegates in the closing session of the Congress. The motion was carried without dissent.

On Saturday morning, August 7, the Congress began the study of Topic II: *Our Worship*. Two speakers were presented by the PRESIDING OFFICER, the REV. MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR., Professor of Liturgics in the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, California, and the DEAN OF LINCOLN (the Rt. Rev. David Colin Dunlop).

OUR WORSHIP

OUR ANGLICAN UNDERSTANDING OF CORPORATE WORSHIP

BY

THE REV. PROFESSOR MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR., PH.D.

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Two topics have been assigned for discussion in this paper: *The Nature of Our Worship* and *The Development of the Prayer Books*. Each of these subjects might occupy our attention and thought for many hours. To avoid a superficial treatment of so large a theme in the time allotted, we shall confine our discussion to a few of the many possible areas of inquiry, in the hope that these may at least receive a more thorough consideration. Throughout this paper it will be assumed that the members of the Congress have a general knowledge of the history of the Prayer Book, both in its initial stages of formulation and in its major revisions since the days of the Reformation in England.

The modern man of our contemporary world seeks the meaning of worship by way of the question: "Why should I worship?" His approach to worship is the outcome of a culture that puts all religious practice on the defensive. To inquire about the nature of worship is to demand an apology for it. Modern man must discover first why he ought to worship or even to desire to worship. He must sense the need of worship. He will not be satisfied by any appeal to authority—whether to age-long custom, or to the law of the Church, or to the command of Scripture. Any account of the principles of Christian worship, if it is to hold his attention, must begin with a broader discussion of the nature of man and of man's relation to God.

Our contemporary problem is very different from that of the Reformation age, which gave us our *Book of Common Prayer*. The man of the sixteenth century did not question the validity of worship. The Church with its liturgy was an accepted part of the social and cultural framework in which his life was set. He might be critical of some of its practices and resistant to some of its demands. But he did not consider it an optional interest, such as sport or art or travel. The

great debate of the Reformation era was not over the importance or the necessity of worship. It was rather a controversy over the proper authority of worship, and hence its appropriate means. The question posed to the Reformers was not whether one should or should not worship, but what was the right way of worship.

THE SCRIPTURAL BASIS OF WORSHIP

All of the Reformers, both in Britain and on the Continent, were agreed that the right way of worship was one that was agreeable to the Word of God. But the phrase "agreeable to the Word of God" was capable of divergent interpretations. On the one hand, it was maintained that nothing was to be ordained in the Church's worship except that which was explicitly commanded in Scripture, or which could be deduced from the evident example of the New Testament Church. This position, suggested by the Swiss Reformers (though neither Zwingli nor Calvin was entirely consistent in it), was developed with strenuous insistence by the English Puritans. Indeed, on the basis of it, the more extreme Puritans attacked the use of all prescribed forms and written liturgies in the Church, including even the Lord's Prayer. Their cardinal text was the Pauline injunction: "Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesyings."

In opposition to the Puritan view, the responsible Anglican leaders could appeal to an equally authentic maxim of the apostle: "Let all things be done decently and in order." They likewise accepted the position that nothing was to be done in the Church's worship that was contrary to, or forbidden by Scripture, or which tended to misrepresent and distort the truth of God revealed in the Bible. But the customs of worship, developed by the Church since New Testament times, were to be allowed or retained in the liturgy if they were conducive to edification. In this principle the Anglican Reformers aligned themselves with the Lutherans. The classic statement of this position was a dictum of St. Augustine: "In those things concerning which the Sacred Scriptures have laid down no definite rule, the custom of the people of God and the practices instituted by the fathers are to be maintained as law."¹

It is true, to be sure, that there was no absolute agreement among the proponents of this interpretation as to what customs and ceremonies were in fact edifying or consonant with Scripture. For example, Luther was willing, though reluctantly, to retain the elevation of the Host at the Words of Institution in the Mass; the English reformers would have none of it, and specifically forbade it by rubric

¹ *Ep.* 36.2.

in the First Prayer Book of 1549. Many of the ceremonies of the 1549 Book that were criticized by Bucer and others were eliminated in the revision of 1552. The strife over the Ornaments Rubric, and in particular, the controversy over vestments, begun by Bishop Hooper and increased with rancor in the Elizabethan period, has continued with varying degrees of vehemence to our own times.

The Anglican reformers and the Elizabethan apologists for Anglicanism were at one, however, in rejecting the Puritan view of the New Testament as embodying a code of law for Christian worship. And they had no intention of restoring in the English Church a form of public worship identical with that of the apostolic age, even assuming that such a thing were possible. In his admirable preface entitled "Of Ceremonies," which he added to the Second Prayer Book, Archbishop Cranmer said, "Christ's Gospel is not a Ceremonial law (as much of Moses' law was) but it is a religion to serve God, not in bondage of the figure or shadow but in the freedom of spirit being content only with those Ceremonies, which do serve to a decent order and godly discipline, and such as be apt to stir up the dull mind of man, to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and special signification, whereby he might be edified."

In an eloquent paragraph of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, a passage tinged also with a delicate irony, Richard Hooker clearly remarked how the worship of the Church must not be bound to the custom of any age, including the apostolic age. It is worth quoting in full:

Our end ought always to be the same; our ways and means thereunto not so. The glory of God and the good of His Church was the thing which the Apostles aimed at, and therefore ought to be the mark whereat we also level. But seeing those rites and orders may be at one time more which at another are less available unto that purpose, what reason is there in these things to urge the state of one only age as a pattern for all to follow? It is not I am right sure their [the Puritans'] meaning, that we should now assemble our people to serve God in close and secret meetings; or that common brooks or rivers should be used for places of baptism; or that the Eucharist should be ministered after meat; or that the custom of church feasting should be renewed; or that all kind of standing provision for the ministry should be utterly taken away, and their estate made again dependent upon the voluntary devotion of men. In these things they easily perceive how unfit that were for the present, which was for the first age convenient enough. The faith, zeal, and godliness of former times is worthily had in honour; but doth this prove that the orders of the Church of Christ must be still the selfsame with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may

lawfully since have ceased? They who recall the Church unto that which was at the first, must necessarily set bounds and limits unto their speeches. If any thing have been received repugnant unto that which was first delivered, the first things in this case must stand, the last give place unto them. But where difference is without repugnancy, that which hath been can be no prejudice to that which is.²

The Articles of Religion, as finally shaped in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, set forth in succinct fashion the official position of Anglicanism with respect to authority in rites and ceremonies. In Article XX, the Edwardian statement that "it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written" is prefaced by the clause—generally attributed to the hand of Queen Elizabeth herself—that "the Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies." And again in Article XXXIV, the 1552 statement that traditions and ceremonies "may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word" has received an additional phrase, derived from Archbishop Parker, that "every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, Ceremonies or Rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."

From these brief references it is clear that the character of the Church's worship, as understood in Anglicanism, is Scriptural in a very precise sense. It is not so much the fact, of which we often make boast, that the greater portion of our Prayer Book services is directly excerpted from the Bible. It is certainly not due to any deliberate conformity of its forms and patterns of worship to Scriptural models, excepting, of course, the essential words and actions of the Sacraments. Anglican worship is Scriptural in the sense that the theology expressed in its formularies is in accord with Scripture, and contains only such doctrines as may be proved by the Bible. But the authority of Scripture in our Common Prayer is limited to its control over the theological content of the liturgy.

HISTORICAL CONTINUITY IN WORSHIP

The outward forms of our worship, on the other hand, are subject to the authority of the visible, historic Church, acting through its supreme legislative organ, whether it be the King in Parliament, the Bishops in synod, or a representative convention of the Church. It is true that such ecclesiastical authority determines, in the last analysis, the theological content of worship. For the Church both defines the

² Richard Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Bk. IV, ch. ii, 3.

Canon of Scripture and sets forth from time to time official interpretations of it. The Articles of Religion, the Catechism, the Homilies, and the Canons (such as those pertaining to Holy Matrimony) are examples of this interpretative activity of the Church. It is even possible that the supreme legislature of the Church may alter or reject the Creeds. The American Church, for example, has excluded the so-called Athanasian Creed from its official formularies. Yet whatever its apprehension of the fullness and pureness of Scriptural truth may be at any given time, Anglicanism does not fix the forms of its worship after the pattern of any single age, not even that of the apostles, but shapes them by a principle of historical continuity and development.

Our Prayer Book worship stands in a historical succession no less than our orders of Ministry. It is organically continuous with the Church's rites in the centuries prior to the Reformation. The primary, basic source of our liturgy is the Latin rite of the medieval English Church, as it had in turn developed and modified the Roman service books brought to England by the missionary monks sent thither by Pope Gregory the Great. For example, the framework of our liturgy is the Calendar of seasons and holy days of the medieval Church of the West. The Daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer are, both in structure and in content, nearer to the Canonical Hours of the Latin Breviary than to the "prayer meetings" of the apostolic age, as they were imaginatively re-created by the Puritans. Our Church even kept the distinction of Baptism and Confirmation in separate rites, despite the testimony of the early Fathers (and of the Eastern Churches) to their original unity in one continuous act of initiation. In the case of the Holy Communion, it may be argued pro and con whether or not the form in the Second Prayer Book of 1552 was a radical break with the past. But surely the basic elements of the traditional celebration were retained, however much the rearrangements. Its most serious defect—the elimination of any specific reference to the Offertory of the bread and wine—has been rectified in later revisions.

We would be very much mistaken, however, if we understood our liturgy as no more than a modification and adaptation of medieval rites. In our own times the recovery of liturgical documents and the advances in historical method have made evident a far more formal character in the worship of the New Testament Church than was generally appreciated by controversialists in the sixteenth century. The Church inherited from Judaism many liturgical forms for the shaping of its own praise and prayer. The worship of the apostolic age was not all preaching and prophesying, speaking in tongues, and

spiritual songs. The excesses and disorders in the worship of the church at Corinth should not be taken as typical. There was, no doubt, a greater degree of spontaneity and reliance upon spiritual inspiration in the praise and prayer of the earliest Christian gatherings, but they were expressed through traditional forms.

The celebrant at the primitive Eucharist offered the great Thanksgiving over the gifts of bread and wine according to his ability, and at such length as he desired; but he did it according to an outline of thematic structure that derived from the Jewish thanksgivings over food and drink. Our Consecration Prayer in the Holy Communion has a genetic relation with the blessings said by our Lord at the Last Supper. The core of our baptismal rite and the laying on of hands with prayer in our liturgies of Confirmation and Ordination are apostolic translations of Jewish practices. The hymns and anthems, indeed the whole picture of worship, presented in the Apocalypse, are not mere fancies of the seer of Patmos, but exemplify a highly stylized form of worship in the primitive Church, patterned upon the liturgy of the synagogue. One could continue at length the list of borrowings and transformations. To take but one other illustration—the great intercession for the Church and the State embodied in the First Epistle of Clement of Rome, a document contemporary with the Apocalypse and the Johannine writings—is not a form of momentary inspiration. It reveals a tradition of formal prayer inherited from Jewish corporate worship.

We must remember that the sixteenth century Reformers, for all their humanistic learning, did not have at hand many of the liturgical documents of the first four centuries that are available to us today. Other than the scattered notices in the Fathers, they had no sources for the reconstruction of the Church's liturgy in the period between the New Testament writings and the developed liturgies of the Eastern and Western Churches of the fifth and sixth centuries. Such documents as the *Didache*, the *Sacramentary* of Serapion, and above all, *The Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus of Rome—documents so very basic in the modern science of liturgics—have all been recovered by the discoveries and researches of our own time. Even Justin Martyr's famous description of the worship of the church in Rome about the middle of the second century was unknown to Cranmer at the time of compiling the First Prayer Book. Justin's works were not published until the year 1551. Always an avid patristic scholar, Cranmer used it in his *Answer* to Bishop Gardiner; and it is possible that it influenced him in certain revisions made in the 1552 Prayer Book. We know he had a high regard for such early Fathers as Justin

and Irenaeus, being authors, as he said, who "were nearest unto Christ's time, and therefore might best know the truth."³ When we consider these limitations of historical source materials, not to speak of the atmosphere of bitter theological controversy in which the work of liturgical reform was carried out, the achievement of Cranmer and his collaborators is all the more impressive.

PRINCIPLES OF REFORM IN WORSHIP

Our liturgy was compiled with painstaking care. Unlike some of the liturgical reforms in Continental Protestantism, it was not conceived either in a merely negative spirit, or as an occasion for novel experiments. What were considered medieval corruptions in worship were eliminated, to be sure; but the liturgy was not left at that—a mutilated collection of fragments. Into the texture of liturgical prayer retained from the medieval services, Cranmer skillfully interwove phrases drawn from many sources, ancient and contemporary, with occasional touches of his own creation. The result was a fabric conceived as a consistent whole, with an integral blend of old and new threads and colors.

A significant example of Cranmer's work, for purposes of comparison, is the Prayer of Consecration in the Eucharist. Luther's method of revision was to eliminate everything from the Latin Canon of the Mass except the Words of Institution. These were introduced by the traditional *Sursum corda* and Preface, and followed by the *Sanctus* and Lord's Prayer. If the end result was a purely Scriptural form, it was nonetheless a disconnected series of fragments, with far less coherence than the old Canon. Moreover the primitive conception of consecration by a prayer of thanksgiving was almost totally obscured. It is interesting to note that recent Lutheran revisions of the Eucharist have abandoned Luther's scheme of consecration by a series of formulae in favor of a prayer more nearly akin to those of ancient liturgies. Calvin, on the other hand, in his Strasbourg liturgy of 1540, accepted the primitive principle of consecration by a prayer of thanksgiving; but he completely discarded everything in the old Canon, including the Words of Institution, for a new composition of his own. His form is not without beauty and a profound piety; but other than a very general remembrance of Christ's death and a petition for the worthy receiving of its benefits, his prayer has little or no genetic relation to any ancient or traditional pattern.

The case is very different when we examine the Prayer of Con-

³ *Writings and Disputations of Thomas Cranmer Relative to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* (Parker Society: Cambridge, 1844), p. 263.

secration in the First Prayer Book of 1549. Its basis is very obviously the Canon of the Latin Mass. Not only has Cranmer followed its general outline of contents, but he has availed himself generously of many of its phrases. He has, however, reduced its dozen loosely connected paragraphs to three, and shaped these into a more closely developed sequence of thought. Thus the Prayer is made once again a single act of thanksgiving rather than a collection of disjointed formularies. The material excised from the old Canon is the sacrificial language; but in its place has been inserted a positive theological assertion: the once-for-all, all-sufficient nature of the sacrifice of Christ. This is one of the few instances in the Prayer Book of a consciously wrought theological polemic; but it was justified at the time, and the assertion made is certainly most Scriptural. The Words of Institution were harmonized more nearly to the New Testament texts. In the Invocation, phrases were introduced from the Greek liturgy of St. Basil, and the whole section was meticulously worded so as to combine both the Eastern and Western theories of consecration by the Holy Spirit and by the "word" of Christ, respectively. Finally, in the concluding paragraph, Cranmer added two new clauses of great importance for the understanding of Communion: (1) the offering of ourselves as "a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice," and (2) the incorporation of ourselves in the Body of Christ by the mutual indwelling of the Lord and His Church. Both of these ideas are Scriptural, the former from Romans 12:1, the latter from John 6:56.

The Prayer of Consecration in the First Prayer Book is a true touchstone by which the Anglican reformation of worship may be tested. It sets forth in summary our understanding of the Christian faith and ethic as it is manifested in the Church's central act of corporate worship. The way of Atonement is set free of the legalistic and quasi-magical obstacles placed about it by medieval speculation and practice; and it becomes once again the dynamic process of life incorporate in Christ as it is proclaimed in the New Testament. It is not only forgiveness of past sin, but the empowering to a new obedience in righteousness. The once-for-all act of God in Christ is revealed with all its unlimited possibilities for our growth in grace. And the entire exposition of this gospel of salvation is suffused with penitent thanksgiving and set within a framework of adoration and praise.

To recite all of this is, of course, only to pay tribute once more to the remarkable liturgical genius of Cranmer and his helpers, of which we Anglicans are justly proud. But it may be asked also whether Cranmer's work of liturgical revision has succeeded with us only because it fits so harmoniously into the genius of Anglicanism itself,

with its twofold sensitiveness to Scriptural truth and the historical continuity of Christian experience. It may be that this is a merely circular argument, like the question as to which comes first, the chicken or the egg. For our liturgy both expresses the genius of our tradition, and at the same time helps to mold it.

The basic aim our liturgy seeks to achieve is the removal of the wall of partition that is so often, and so improperly, set between the prophetic and the sacramental types of worship. The Sacraments remain at the center of the Church's life, but they are made manifestations of the saving Word of God. Not only are the Scriptures read and expounded at their celebration, but the liturgical prayer itself is also a setting forth of the biblical revelation. In addition, the sacramental life of the Church is surrounded by the Scriptural devotions of the Daily Offices, and interlocked with the Scriptural synopsis of the Christian Year. Word and sacrament are therefore not antithetical, but complementary, the one to the other. By them the Church is made alive in the presence of Christ thereby imparted; and through them it comes to realize what, by our Lord's redeeming act, it is in reality—living members one of another in the one Body of Christ.

DIVERGENT TENDENCIES

We cannot venture to claim that the ideal complement of the prophetic and the sacramental expression of worship has been consistently maintained in the practice of Anglicanism since the Reformation. More often than not these two strands have been set in various degrees of tension. In part, the tension has arisen out of the controversies of the Reformation era itself, first with Latin Catholicism, then with Puritanism. Within a century after the Elizabethan Settlement these struggles had left English Christendom permanently divided. In a comprehensive system such as Anglicanism, the deliberate ambiguities sometimes designed to promote unity have often had the opposite effect of stimulating sharp divergencies, both in doctrinal interpretation and in outward ceremonial expression.

Further strains have arisen since the Restoration Settlement of the 1660's. The Non-Jurors' schism first opened the way to new liturgical experiments, unhampered by State interference or acts of uniformity. The Evangelical and Tractarian Movements in their turn have also given rise to greater varieties of devotional experience, practice, and interpretation. In more recent times the missionary expansion of Anglicanism to all corners of the earth, the rise of biblical and historical criticism, and the movements toward Christian reunion have brought

new pressures and demands both for a reappraisal of traditional systems of worship and for adaptations of our liturgical inheritance to diverse cultural situations and environments. The past half century has witnessed an intensive amount of criticism and revision of the Prayer Book in many provinces of our Communion all round the world. Some of it is stimulated by a better historical perspective, seeking in both the early and medieval periods for sources of enrichment and inspiration. Much of it is incited by the necessities of translation of inherited forms into contemporary idioms, more relevant to the modern social and cultural scene. At the present time there are about a dozen Books of Common Prayer in use in the various provinces of Anglicanism. The differences among them are not striking except in one particular: the order for the celebration of the Holy Communion.

Basically there are two Eucharistic liturgies in the Anglican Communion, which stem from the first two Prayer Books respectively. The most significant difference between the two is in the position of the Prayer of Oblation and the benefits of communion. In the First Prayer Book, this prayer formed part of the Prayer of Consecration and therefore preceded the act of communion. But in the Second Prayer Book, the act of communion was placed immediately after the Words of Institution, and the Prayer of Oblation was shifted to a position after communion. For the present we need not pause to discuss the implications of this change or attempt an evaluation of it. At the Elizabethan Settlement, the rite of the Second Prayer Book, with a few modifications, was established as the norm. This liturgy of the Second Prayer Book, as modified in 1559 and again in 1662, is still the official Eucharistic liturgy of the Church of England. And it is followed also by the Churches in Wales, Ireland, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

The Scottish Book of 1637, associated with the name of Archbishop Laud though not the work of his hands, returned to the pattern of the First Prayer Book of 1549. The Book was abortive, however, and never came into general use. It was taken up again by the Non-Jurors in the eighteenth century, and with some changes made as a result of their studies in the Eastern liturgies, it contributed to the shaping of the Scottish liturgy of 1764. By an accident of history, the first bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States was consecrated, after the American Revolution, by the Non-Juring Scots; and through his influence the Scottish liturgy was adopted in the first Prayer Book of the American Church at its organizing Convention of 1789. In our own times this liturgy has been substantially adopted by the Church

in South Africa, in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, and most recently by the Church in Japan. It should also be noted that the liturgy of the First Prayer Book of 1549 is officially authorized in the Province of the West Indies. The newly formed Church of South India has likewise adopted a liturgy of this type.

There are other differences among these liturgies, of course, such as the position and form of the general intercession for the Church, the place of the communion devotions, and matters of much lesser import. But the basic difference between the two types of Eucharistic liturgy is centered in the Oblation, whether it is made before or after communion. On this question there have been strong differences of opinion. For it raises a very fundamental theological issue, debated since the time of the Reformation; namely, the nature and character of the Eucharist as a sacrifice. To this problem we should pause for some special consideration, not with any thought of solving it, but merely for clarification of the issues.

THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE

There are few religious terms employed with such a multiplicity of meanings as the word "sacrifice." It has been used to denote almost every religious act. Today it is part of our common, daily vocabulary, often without any religious reference, as in the debased phrase used in business of selling goods "at a sacrifice." For many people the word has come to mean only loss, deprivation, hardship, and renunciation. Yet the root meaning of doing a sacred act or of making a thing holy is hardly so negative. Students of primitive religion remind us that the basic concept underlying sacrifice is the establishment of communion between God and men. Later the emphasis shifted to the offering of a gift by men to their deities, and out of this usage came the notion of deprivation, even destruction, of the sacrificial offering. Even when the gift was totally consumed or poured out, however, it had a reconciling purpose, whether of propitiation, expiation, or thanksgiving. In the Old Testament, sacrificial terms thus describe a variety of religious acts and meanings; and similarly, in the New Testament, they are used in many ways, both literally of Jewish and pagan acts of worship, and metaphorically of Christian living and devotion. In particular, the idea of sacrifice in the New Testament is associated with the Atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ. There is no clear-cut use of the term in the New Testament with reference to Christian worship—at least the question is debatable—but by the second century it is a commonplace among the Fathers to refer to the Eucharist as a sacrifice.

In the Reformation era, sacrifice as a term applied to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper became one of the "fighting" words of theological controversy, and was inextricably tied in with the disputes over the Real Presence. In rejecting the dogma of Transubstantiation the Reformers likewise repudiated the scholastic doctrine of the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice, "in which it was commonly said," to quote the Thirty-Nine Articles, "that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt." The Continental Reformers went so far, in their revised liturgies, as to remove not only all suggestion of sacrifice in the Prayer of Consecration, but also all reference to an Offertory of the bread and wine. Cranmer's views are stated clearly enough in the fifth book of his *Answer to Bishop Gardiner*:

One kind of sacrifice there is, which is called a propitiatory or merciful sacrifice, that is to say, such a sacrifice as pacifieth God's wrath and indignation, and obtaineth mercy and forgiveness for all our sins, and is the ransom for our redemption from everlasting damnation . . .

Another kind of sacrifice there is which doth not reconcile us to God, but is made of them that be reconciled to Christ, to testify our duties unto God and to shew ourselves thankful unto him. And therefore they be called sacrifices of laud, praise, and thanksgiving.

The first kind of sacrifice Christ offered to God for us; the second kind we ourselves offer to God by Christ.

And by the first kind of sacrifice Christ offered also us unto his Father; and by the second we offer ourselves and all that we have unto him and his Father.⁴

The way in which Cranmer worked out his position in the liturgies of the first two Prayer Books is well known. In the First Prayer Book there is an Offertory of the bread and wine, and in the Consecration Prayer there is, after the Words of Institution, an Oblation made of the holy gifts as "the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make." To this Oblation is attached the petition that God would mercifully "accept this our Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," and in addition the phrase, based upon Romans 12:1: "and here we offer and present unto thee (O Lord) our self, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee." In the Second Prayer Book, however, the specific reference to an Offertory of bread and wine was removed. And the Prayer of Oblation was moved, as we have already noted, to a place after communion. By these changes Cranmer sought to make more clear his notion that the Church can-

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 346.

not offer any sacrifice to God except the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; and indeed it cannot offer even this sacrifice, or the living sacrifice of itself, until it has received Christ in Holy Communion.

From this overly brief analysis, certain points emerge into clearer focus regarding the Eucharistic sacrifice as conceived by the Reformation settlement. There is no propitiatory sacrifice in the Eucharist. Such a sacrifice was made once for all by Christ on the Cross. There is also no material sacrifice of the eucharistic elements of bread and wine. They are but memorials of the one, all-sufficient sacrifice of our Lord. But there is a sacrifice made by the Church, the offering of itself in thanksgiving and entire devotion, made possible by the Lord who indwells His Church. And this sacrifice is offered only after Christ and His Church have been united in Holy Communion. Whether or not this is a legitimate *doctrine* of sacrifice depends, of course, upon one's definition of the word. We have seen that the term "sacrifice" carries a number of meanings in Holy Scripture. A recent comment by one of the leading liturgical scholars of the American Church is to the effect that Cranmer's work has the merit of "a direct and adequate answer to the underlying question, What is the substance and reality of the Christian Sacrifice which is offered in the Liturgy?"⁵ Yet another scholar has maintained that it is none other than an "unhappy formulation," semantically incorrect, and a confusion of St. Paul's poetic analogy for a precise definition. According to this writer "a presentation of living selves, souls and bodies could turn into a true sacrifice in either a Jewish or a Christian sense only if these living 'presentations' or oblations were moved out of this world into God's eternity . . . In the case of human beings, the sacrifice of their *persons* ('selves') will be accomplished only in their deaths and resurrections. Sacrifice always involves the disappearance of an offered gift-substance from this natural world."⁶

It is not our purpose here to find a solution to these variant theological positions. We shall note, however, that the Caroline divines, beginning with Lancelot Andrewes, very much enlarged the conception of the Eucharistic sacrifice in Anglicanism. In these writers there appears the doctrine of the Eucharist as a representation of the sacrifice of Christ—a doctrine that has come to the fore again in the modern Liturgical Movement. Thus Jeremy Taylor wrote:

⁵ The Rev. Bayard H. Jones in *Prayer Book Studies IV: The Eucharistic Liturgy* (Report of the Standing Liturgical Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church; New York: The Church Pension Fund, 1953), p. 41.

⁶ Frederic Hastings Smyth, *Sacrifice: A Doctrinal Homily* (New York: Vantage Press, 1953), pp. 24-5.

As Christ is a Priest in Heaven for ever and yet does not sacrifice Himself afresh nor yet without a Sacrifice could He be a Priest, but by a daily ministration and intercession represents His Sacrifice to God and offers Himself as sacrificed, so He does upon earth by the ministry of His servants. He is offered to God; that is, He is by prayers and the Sacrament represented or offered up to God as sacrificed, which in effect is a celebration of His Death, and the applying it to the present and future necessities of the Church as we are capable by a ministry like to His in Heaven. It follows, then, that the celebration of this Sacrifice be in its proportion an instrument of applying the proper Sacrifice to all the purposes which it first designed. It is ministerially and by application an instrument propitiatory; it is eucharistical; it is an homage and an act of adoration; and it is impetratory and obtains for us and for the whole Church all the benefits of the Sacrifice, which is now celebrated and applied.⁷

Language such as this is certainly far advanced beyond Cranmer's thought. But since the Tractarian Movement, it has become more familiar among us—if not in our liturgy, at least in our eucharistic hymns, such as William Bright's well-known communion hymn:

And now, O Father, mindful of the love
That bought us, once for all, on Calvary's tree,
And having with us him that pleads above,
We here present, we here spread forth to thee,
That only off'ring perfect in thine eyes,
The one true, pure, immortal sacrifice.

One other development in this connection deserves mention. When the Non-Jurors revised the Scottish liturgy of 1637, they added to the Oblation in the Prayer of Consecration this phrase: "which we now offer unto thee," after the words "these thy holy gifts." This new clause, lacking in the 1549 Prayer Book, has also been taken up into the liturgy of the American Prayer Book, the South African Book, and the liturgy of the Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. Indeed, the Non-Jurors considered it of such crucial importance that they printed it in small capitals. Such a phrase surely makes explicit the inclusion of the Eucharistic elements of bread and wine in the Eucharistic sacrifice.

The Eucharistic elements bear a two-fold representation. If they are offered to God as consecrated, it is possible to consider them as offerings, albeit in a mystical manner, of the Body and Blood of Christ. And when this offering is made before the act of communion,

⁷ From *The Great Exemplar*, as quoted in P. E. More and F. L. Cross, *Anglicanism* (Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1935), p. 495.

it then becomes possible to reintroduce once more the whole scholastic theology of the Eucharist against which the Reformers rebelled. That this position has been taken by many Anglicans within the last century cannot be denied. Whether or not it is a proper and legitimate position is not for us to decide here.

On the other hand, the elements also represent ourselves, offering to God the fruit of our labor upon the material gifts of His creation. This emphasis has come strongly to the fore in recent years out of the ferment of the Liturgical Movement. Yet this view also has its difficulties. First of all, can any material offering be made to God since "The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is"? Secondly, are men capable of offering to God an acceptable oblation, since the making of bread and wine, with all its social, economic, and political implications, is stained with sin? The problem here is to avoid the trap of assuming that man has good works to offer, well-pleasing to God.

We should not minimize the issues raised by these questions. Upon their answer depends much of the unity which we shall be able to maintain within our Anglican Communion. But they have a much wider relevance also. For they are among the serious questions at stake both in the Liturgical and the Ecumenical Movements of our time. For any doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice involves all the other doctrines that divide us: the nature of the Church and of the Ministry that offers this sacrifice, the relation between nature and grace, and ultimately, the nature of man and the character of his redemption in Christ. Our Communion, with its two types of liturgy, expressive of two approaches to the problem, may be able to hold its various facets in tension. Sooner or later, however, it must be resolved.

In a suggestive paragraph of his paper in the volume *Ways of Worship*, Father A. G. Hebert has outlined what may be the way out of this dilemma:

The eucharistic Sacrifice, that storm-centre of controversy, is finding in our day a truly evangelical expression from the 'catholic' side, when it is insisted that the sacrificial action is not any sort of re-immolation of Christ, nor a sacrifice additional to His one Sacrifice, but a participation in it. The true celebrant is Christ the High-Priest, and the Christian people are assembled as members of His Body to present before God His Sacrifice, and to be themselves offered up in sacrifice through their union with Him. This, however, involves a repudiation of certain mediaeval developments, notably the habitual celebration of the Eucharist without the Communion of the people; or the notion that the offering of the Eucharist is the concern of the individual priest rather than of the assembled church; and, above all, any idea that in the Eucharist we offer a sacrifice to propitiate God. We offer it only

because He has offered the one Sacrifice, once for all, in which we need to participate.⁸

"AN HOLY PRIESTHOOD"

The Evangelical churchman rightly reminds us that our every approach to God must be in penitence, charity, and faith. Every offering we bring to Him demands of the offerers the deepest penitence, for the gifts are not pure any more than the givers. The bread and the wine, as mere physical, material elements, tokens of God's creation and created gifts, are certainly pure in and of themselves. But they are soiled in their very making by the selfishness and greed of human society. The remembrance of these sins is grievous unto us, the burden of them is intolerable. We cannot reiterate too often that our offering, even in the Eucharist, can only be acceptable because God of His mercy makes it acceptable for Christ's sake.

Nothing in my hand I bring,
Simply to thy cross I cling.

God accepts us and our gifts not only by virtue of what He will work in us by our communion with Christ, but also by reason of what He has already wrought in us by Christ. For we are part of His Body and are called by His Name—Christians. When St. Paul exhorted the Roman Christians to offer their bodies a living sacrifice, he was thinking, as was also the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of the immense gulf between the sacrifices of the old Law and the Sacrifice of the New Covenant. The contrast is one between the offering of dead victims, irrational victims, and the consecration of living persons, capable of a reasonable, that is, rational worship.

The New Testament reminds us again and again that the Christian stands within the boundaries of the redeemed order of the Age to Come, not outside of it. His body has been consecrated as the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit, poured out in the last times upon all who are within the fellowship of Christ. As St. Peter reminds us, we are "living stones, built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." At the very least we offer a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and such sacrifices as these can come only from a rational creature conscious of what he is and what he has been made and remade by God. If God demands such sacrifices, He will surely find them acceptable. If we are obligated to do the Eucharist, by the command of our Lord, it is not

⁸ Edited by P. Edwall, E. Hayman, and W. D. Maxwell (New York: Harpers, 1951), p. 77.

solely that we may obtain the forgiveness of our sins and the unmerited promises of grace; but also that in so doing we may realize that which we already are in God's sight—very members incorporate in the Mystical Body of His Son.

When we fully recover again, as our generation is beginning to do, the eschatological sense of Christian living, we shall the more easily resolve this problem of sacrifice. If there is any defect in our Prayer Book, it is the lack of strong emphasis upon the "here and now" experience of eternal life, that in the Sacraments we do literally taste "the good word of God, and the powers of the age to come." Being initiated into Christ, we are no longer dead, but alive; no longer are we offerers of dead works, but of service to the living God. We have been translated out of the realm of darkness into the kingdom of light. It is because we are redeemed that we make bold to offer. And when we offer, in penitence and in faith, the living, risen Lord comes to offer with His own, to take us up into His offering eternally in the heavenly places.

THE LITURGICAL LIFE OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

BY

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Dean of Lincoln

I

LITURGICAL FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

The broadcasts of the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II made a deep impression all over the world. Of special interest was the thought that here was a Queen kneeling upon her knees. The mere sight of anyone in that posture is unfamiliar to multitudes today. But the thought of a sovereign ruler of a nation and commonwealth thus acknowledging the supreme authority of God, at the very moment of her own exaltation, must have conveyed to many a lesson not easy to forget.

The free acknowledgment of authority is a motive which is becoming rarer in the contemporary world. Those of us who are parents or teachers of the young are well aware of this. The right of anyone to exact willing obedience in virtue of his status, or appointment, is be-

ginning to seem unintelligible. Compliance with a command, only when compliance is seen to be prudent, has taken the place of obedience because obedience is due. Authority is thought to consist in the mere possession of coercive power.

This eclipse of the true meaning of authority is surely due to a waning faith in God. Only in God can the rightness of authority be clearly seen; only as, however indirectly, held from God can authority be recognised in a human being.

It is the Church's first task to proclaim the authority of God. That God is love is no Gospel, unless God be first known as all-sovereign. And the response which the Church claims to this proclamation must be, not merely the submission due to supreme coercive power, but the eager and willing obedience due to the Almighty Father, in Christ, through the Holy Spirit. This acceptance of the authority of God by man creates the conditions under which the Divine order can be established among us. The tragedy of our world is its disorder, at every level of life, social and individual. The Epistle to the Ephesians shows how the Gospel is indeed a gospel because it will "gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth." It is one purpose of the Church's worship and liturgy that it should witness to the fact and nature of this Divine order, "coming down from God out of heaven" into the midst of our disorder. The order of public worship is to be a type and foretaste of the final establishment of God's order. All the relationships are right in Christian worship. God is there, and in His presence man is prostrate in creaturely adoration; man is there, not isolated in that separate individuality towards which his pride is ever goading him, but as a member of the family of God. He prays not only inwardly in the thoughts of his own heart but outwardly in the words of the Church's common prayer into which he humbly seeks to enter. Outside his acts of worship, material things have a way of shutting him off from God and of dividing him, in strife, from his brother. Within his worship, he uses material things after thanksgiving over them; they no longer divide; they are the means of uniting him with God and his neighbour; the bread and wine are the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. As Walter Pater wrote in the account of the Eucharist of early days in Rome: "It was a veritable consecration, hopeful and animating, of the earth's gifts, of old dead and dark matter itself, now in some way redeemed at last, of all that we can touch and see, in the midst of a jaded world that had lost the true sense of such things."¹ In ways such

¹ *Marius the Epicurean* (New York: Modern Library), p. 310.

as these the Church's worship witnesses to the Divine order which, for its coming, demands our accepting the Gospel and obeying the authority of God.

In this setting I place the first part of my subject, *Liturgical Freedom and Responsibility*. An essential part of the witness of our public worship to the Divine order is the use by every member of a congregation, and by every congregation in a diocese, or group of dioceses, of a single form of Common Prayer.

Though there are doubtless many attractive reasons for allowing every congregation to use such forms of words and procedure as seem locally suitable, without much heed to those used by other congregations, yet the Churches of the Anglican Communion have followed a different path. It has seemed to us that the use of a fixed liturgy, with very little place for local deviations, is the best way. There are a number of reasons for it. To begin with, if our worship is to witness to the authority of God and the given-ness of the Divine order, the use of forms set out by ecclesiastical authority, of forms which we have ourselves not chosen, is a vivid way of demonstrating that fact. The disorder from which we suffer is due to the limitless character of individual self-will. We most effectively proclaim the true basis of the Divine order when, renouncing our private fancies, we accept as the material and vehicle of worship words and actions which are put before us by lawful authority. Was not this in the mind of the great English Evangelical, Charles Simeon, when he said "The difference between the Church spirit and the sectarian spirit is very much owing to the prayers of the Church being fixed and *commanding*?" Was it not also in the mind of Richard Channing Moore, Bishop of Virginia, when he said in 1826: "The Church in Virginia will never be induced to depart from her prescribed forms" and when he charged his clergy "to attend to the rubrics without the least deviation?" It was the belief that the strict acceptance of a fixed liturgy was a fundamental witness to the authority of God.

Another reason for fixed forms is this: when a Christian congregation assembles for worship it should be reminded as plainly as possible that it does not initiate an activity. It rather joins in an activity which is always going on and always has been going on and always will be. Because it worships the Father in Christ, it worships along with all other Christians, living and departed, on earth and in the world to come; also with angels and archangels and all the company of heaven. The realisation of this gives depth and background to the worship of any congregation, however small or isolated. Whenever we worship, then, we enter into an immense, timeless action which goes

on whether we join in or not. To fit yourself into this great act of adoration is best realised when you use words which you do not choose, when you identify your own aspirations with those of a liturgy put into your hands from outside.

The great store set by our Anglican Churches on a fixed liturgy is shown mostly by the solemn vows required to be taken by all ordained ministers and priests that they will be faithful and obedient in their ordering of public worship. In the conduct of worship every trace of self-will and faddiness is a revolt against that Divine order to which the liturgy seeks to bear witness. In a recent article in *The Living Church* entitled "How Obedient Are the Clergy?" the author stated: "More priests pay less and less attention to legality and take varying paths of disobedience to rubrical directions." Perhaps this word "legality" is the reason why. Legality is not the same as authority. Legality suggests merely submission to coercive power; it induces a frame of mind in which a man says "How little need I comply with the directions? How far can I safely go my own sweet way?" But authority has a different connotation; it takes the mind back to the source of all authority and causes a man to say, "How can I so order the worship of my parish that it may be true to the Divine order; how can the fact of God's authority be most effectively proclaimed?" But do we proclaim God's authority when we follow the traditions and ordinances of some Church with which we are *not* in communion? Or when we accept as our pattern the ways of some imaginary perfect Church of our dreams, which never has had any real existence? Surely we only effectively proclaim God's authority by a strict and loyal obedience to that part of the Church which we serve and because of whose unction and commission we call ourselves priests?

So that is *Liturgical Freedom*. Like our freedom as Christians, it consists, *not* in being your own master, but in having the *right* master. It therefore implies the rejection of obedience to private fancies, and the acceptance of the Lordship of Christ mediated through the canons and discipline of your own Church.

II

LITURGICAL TRENDS

I turn now to the second part of the subject which has been set for me, namely *Liturgical Trends*. In what directions are the thoughts and practice of the various Churches of the Anglican Communion moving in the realm of worship? What changes have taken place and what changes are still being thought desirable? It is worth recalling that in

their devotional and liturgical life the Anglican Churches have experienced, and are still experiencing, a revolution. It is only 150 years since the then Bishop of London, Dr. Beilby Porteus, is said to have laid upon his clergy in a visitation charge something like this: "Gentlemen, I know you are all busy men: but if between Christmas and Easter you could manage to squeeze in one celebration of the Holy Communion, it would be to the advantage of true religion." Similar evidence, perhaps long after that time and in many different countries could doubtless be found. It would show how profoundly Anglican public worship has shifted in its emphasis and how its head and heart have been increasingly claimed by sacramental worship and teaching. A rough indication of this increase of interest in Eucharistic worship may be seen in the actual Prayer Books. My copy of the English Prayer Book of 1662 contains 670 pages. Of these, the Communion Service, the Collects, Epistles and Gospels and the Ordinal, occupy 222 pages, or less than one third of the whole book. In my copy of the English 1928 Prayer Book which has 760 pages, 300 are devoted to Eucharistic forms, which is over one third and under one half of the total. In my copies of the American 1929 Prayer Book, the new South African Book, and the proposed Indian Book, the Eucharistic material occupies well over one-half of the book in each instance. All this evidence is of course supported by the enormously increased number of celebrations of Holy Communion and in the greater frequency of receiving the Holy Sacrament. It is not surprising therefore that nearly every Church has either revised its Communion rite or has made proposals for doing so. These revisions range in scope and degree from the very tentative revision by the Church of Ireland in 1926 to the quite revolutionary *Liturgy for India* which is included in their Proposed Prayer Book of 1952. Before examining more closely the detailed liturgical trends shown in these various revisions I would draw your attention to a more general trend of Eucharistic ideals.

The desire for liturgical enrichment in Anglican circles began to show itself, in England at any rate, in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In those days, among ordinary people, there was no hint of those coming upheavals which have since occurred in social and international life. Order and security were taken for granted, and life appeared likely to be lived, perhaps forever, among the established landmarks then existing. Religion and the Church seemed to be safely enshrined in the life of society, at any rate in Europe and America. At such a time it seemed natural to those who had recovered a sense of tradition in ecclesiastical affairs to look for their guide to liturgical enrichment in the Middle Ages. This was the great and

classic epoch of the Church's secure ascendancy in world affairs, as well as of a richness and vitality of devotional and liturgical life, diffused through every civilized country and enjoyed by every rank of society. And so it was the medieval liturgical genius which caught the allegiance of those who in the latter nineteenth century attempted to enrich the Eucharist. The ideal seemed to be to revive for the priest's use a number of the private prayers from the ancient missals and even to use, as though it were a private prayer, the very canon of the Latin Mass. At the appropriate places, the psalmody of the Introit, Gradual, Offertory and Communion should be inserted in their very reduced medieval form. The principal Sunday Eucharist should be celebrated with all that splendour, sumptuous and remote, which modern Rome had received from the Middle Ages; nor need any of the worshipping congregation communicate except the celebrant.

But today we are in a different world. The old landmarks have fallen, security is almost a dream and everything is changing. No longer does the Church of God seem like a great and mighty castle, confident and impregnable; it is instead once more like its ancient symbol, a ship, in the midst of a turbulent sea, its movement opposed and defied by wind and wave, its course hazardous and laboured. It is no longer the secure and triumphant Medieval Church with which we seem to have affinity. It is rather the Church of the days of pagan ascendancy in the world, the Church in the age of the barbarian invasions—it is to this epoch that we unconsciously look for our liturgical inspiration. For the medieval models of worship are quite out of fashion; it is the Eucharist in the days of Ambrose or Gregory which holds our gaze. We look back behind the medieval service books to the ethos of the earlier rites; the solemn Eucharist with its ceremonial pomp and no communicants other than the priest has given way to the Parish Communion with its intimate, congregational emphasis, in which the partaking of the Holy Sacrament by the whole family is the climax.

Let us see how all this works out in detail. The increased congregational emphasis appears strikingly in the Japanese proposals, where a public service of preparation for Holy Communion on the previous evening is provided for. A similar office is suggested by the Standing Liturgical Commission of the American Church. This corporate preparation is obviously intended to counteract that excessive individualism with which the act of communion has come to be regarded in the recent past, thus restoring the more primitive sense of corporate responsibility.

In the early ages of the Church an extensive use of the Old

Testament was customary in the Eucharist and though this did not wholly disappear in the Middle Ages it was very greatly reduced. The Indian Book of 1952 provides for a complete psalm to be used for the Introit, as Cranmer did in 1549. The Japanese proposals similarly speak of Introits and Graduals, though it is not clear whether these signify complete psalms or the selected extracts customary in the Middle Ages. Not content with the restoration of psalmody, the Indian Prayer Book makes provision for an Old Testament reading between the Collects and the Epistle which Cranmer also favoured, though he got no further than the provision of one unvarying lesson, namely the Decalogue. The Indian Church has a carefully drawn up Eucharistic lectionary in which the Old Testament, Epistle and Gospel lessons are all closely related in their teaching.

A fervent devotion to the Passion of Christ was characteristic of medieval piety, to such an extent as to throw into shade the other mysteries of redemption. And so in the Mass it was Christ crucified who held the love and worship of the faithful, and His sacrifice was in popular thought and imagination restricted in scope to His death on the Cross. This medieval identification of sacrifice with Calvary is reflected in the Prayer Book of 1549, and even more in that of 1552 and of the English revisions up to 1662 inclusive. Though Cranmer appealed to the "godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers," he was nevertheless more under the spell of the late Middle Ages than he knew. For the ancient Fathers thought of sacrifice in wider terms than death. They placed the Eucharistic oblation against a background not exclusively of Calvary, but of the Creation, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Heavenly Places and the work of the Holy Spirit. Tentatively this wider background to the Holy Communion began to be restored, first in the Scottish rite of 1637 and through this channel to the American rite of 1789. In a similar form this more classic type of Consecration prayer appeared in the English Eucharist of 1928. But in all these rites the wider background is confined to that section of the Consecration Prayer which follows the recital of the Institution, namely to the Anamnesis and the Epi- clesis, or Invocation of the Holy Spirit. The Ceylon liturgy of 1938 seems first to have placed at the beginning of the Consecration a thanksgiving for the creation of the universe, the creation of man, a commemoration of the Fall, of the ministry of the Prophets and then of the Incarnation of Christ. The *Liturgy for India* does the same. On a more modest scale this example has been followed by the American and South African proposals for revision and in those recently made by the Church in Canada.

Eucharistic intercession in the form of a litany did not survive in the medieval Western rites though they were characteristic of the earlier liturgies. This also makes its appearance in the revised Communion services of India and Ceylon.

One final and small example exhibits this tendency to find expression of worship in pre-medieval form. The anthem *Benedictus qui venit* at some period came to be sung in connection with the Consecration, though its original use had been in connection with the actual Communion. The American, Indian, and Japanese proposals all make possible the restoration of this anthem to its earlier and appropriate place, thus emphasizing the priority of communion itself over the adoration of the Real Presence.

Let me sum up this section. The most notable trend in Anglican worship is the deepening of sacramental life and the enrichment of the forms of Eucharistic service. The method of this enrichment is to use not the medieval, but the earlier liturgies as the starting-point for development and to this nearly all the recent revisions of the Prayer Book witness.

Leaving the Eucharist, let us pass to a consideration of trends noticeable elsewhere. The first is in connection with the Psalms of David. Though, as I have shown, there is a demand in some quarters to revive the use of psalms in the Eucharist, there is also manifest a tendency to reduce the amount of psalmody traditionally used at Mattins and Evensong. I speak mainly of England. For some years now the use of psalms on Sundays in accordance with the division of the Psalter among the days of the month has been abandoned in most English churches. In its place is an official scheme of psalms specially appointed for all the Sundays of the year. This has been almost everywhere adopted. But the scheme as printed in the English 1928 Prayer Book was somewhat spoiled by prefacing it with a rubric: "At the discretion of the Minister, one or more of the appointed Psalms may be used in place of the whole number." This "discretion" seems to have gone to our heads, or rather to have been thrown to the winds. For in a great number of churches the actual practice would seem to be based on a new and purely imaginary rubric which, if printed, would run as follows: "At the discretion of the Minister only one Psalm need be used, provided it contain not more than eight verses or ten at the most." How has this reduction come about? Not in the interests of brevity, for the total length of services has not notably decreased. For every psalm omitted, a more or less modern metrical hymn has been inserted. It is said in defence of this reduction that the people do not understand the Psalms. But if a congregation showed

a lack of understanding of the Resurrection would the vicar abolish Easter Day? Would he not rather preach and teach the Resurrection? And can he not also teach the Psalms and how to use this precious heritage as a weekly corporate act of the adoration of Almighty God? If there exists a particular Anglican piety and a particular Anglican approach to the mysteries of the Faith, I claim that one cause of this is the popular use of the Psalms, week in and week out—a practice confined to the Anglican Communion. But mere snippets from the Psalter are not enough. As a Church we must breathe in deeply the ethos and temper of the Psalms; and that means a return to using more substantial portions than have recently been contenting us. Hear how Mr. Richard Hooker commended the use of the Psalms in worship: “Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promised joys of that world which is to come, all good necessarily to be either known or done or had, this one celestial fountain yieldeth.”²

Much has been done recently to restore to public worship those elements of beauty and dignity in its conduct which had been to some extent lost during the turbulent years of the Reformation and the Wars of Religion. At first this revival met with coldness and even hostility. But in theory at least the battle has now been won. Everybody believes in the beauty of holiness. In fact, almost too much. When, I wonder, was it that, for the first time, someone came up to the vicar after Evensong, or a wedding, or even a funeral, and said to him: “What a beautiful service!” It is very often said now. Indeed so often that it seems to express more than a mere comment, and to suggest that the *first* function of an act of worship is that it shall be beautiful. Moreover the word “beautiful” in this context seems to imply “emotionally stimulating.” A perfect act of worship would no doubt kindle an emotional response, but it is dangerous if incidental results are taken to be the true justification of worship. It is dangerous when worship is considered as an activity separable from its true end. The end of worship is not to engender pleasant feelings in the hearts of the congregation, though these may occur as by-products. The object of a church service is to worship God in spirit and in truth whether or no the doing of this is accompanied by uplifting thoughts and feelings.

This widespread desire for a beautiful service at all costs is apt to issue in requests which the clergy find embarrassing, especially in the

² *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, Bk. V, ch. xxxviii, 1.

case of weddings or funerals. Naturally they wish to help their people. But the Prayer Book services concerned are drawn up carefully to express the Christian faith about marriage and death. In the interests of having a beautiful service this doctrinal and evangelical character of the Prayer Book offices often gets distorted or obscured. Having noticed for some time a tendency to be asked for identical items as the centrepiece of both weddings and funerals—namely the Twenty-third Psalm and Bach's anthem "Jesu joy of man's desiring"—I asked a very wise man what he thought was the reason. He replied "I suppose it is because people are less frightened of death than they used to be and more frightened of matrimony—so the same service does for both." But I would emphasise that the witness to Christian belief about these two great mysteries is often rendered ineffective by the desire to put a passing emotional experience in the first place, when preparing for a wedding or a funeral. The clergy need to be specially sympathetic with their flocks on such occasions, but they must not forget the duty of "being instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine."

Let me point out one further trend which, like the last, is not a very healthy one. A characteristic of the *Book of Common Prayer* is its reticence, especially in its supplications, intercessions and acts of penitence. There is about these what I might describe almost as a neutrality, but more properly a universality, a lack of particularisation, which makes them especially effective for the worship of mixed congregations. To illustrate what I mean I will read a form of confession which I encountered recently at a special service: "Great God of all power and love, our Creator and Sustainer, we confess that we have sinned in thought, word and deed; that our love is cold and doubting; our vision weak and narrow; that we have failed to extend thy kingdom; and have used words too easily, and trusted in ourselves too much. Give us true repentance. Reveal to us our weakness in self and our strength in thee. Restore us to sonship and life that we may be new men in thy glorious service." The intention of the composer of this form was plainly to come down to brass tacks and prevent people being too vague. But in doing this he greatly narrows the scope of the prayer and many worshippers might feel they had not confessed *their* special sins at all. Compare this with the words of the Prayer Book General Confession before Morning or Evening Prayer: "We have erred, and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; And we have done those things which we

ought not to have done; And there is no health in us." By not emphasising any *special* forms of wrongdoing, but by stressing the true inner meaning of *every* form of wrongdoing the Prayer Book is far more suitable for use on all occasions by a congregation of all sorts and conditions of men. This is what I mean by the qualities of reticence and universality; they pervade the *Book of Common Prayer* in all its parts.

But there is a steady trend to over-particularise: for example to compose special prayers for special classes of persons or special situations, which explain at length what is being prayed for, and omit no relevant detail. The motive for this is partly educational and partly propagandist: a demonstration that no detail of human life is outside God's concern and God's care; it will also show to any well-meaning sceptic who may be present, that we Christians care for all that is best in human life, and that we are not merely preoccupied with apocalyptic longings or doctrinal niceties.

But to make of supplications to God instruments of human education and propaganda is to put your foot upon a slippery slope. I remember a very popular book of devotions and intercessions, designed to supplement those in the Prayer Book, issued about thirty years ago which recklessly abandoned the reticence and universality of the Prayer Book and indulged in an orgy of particularisation. I once asked a famous English dean whether he cared for this devotional anthology. He replied "Not much. I always feel that on the next page there will be a prayer in which the author thanks God for his new suit."

The Prayer Book is full of material which can be applied to all sorts of intercession and supplication. It is not necessary to compose a brand new prayer for every need as it occurs. A brief bidding going into details, followed by one of the Prayer Book Collects for one of the Sundays after Trinity is a far more effective vehicle of congregational prayer for some current need or cause. And the "Prayer for all Conditions of Men" can be effectively used in this way far more often than it is. This tendency to multiply details in prayers needs careful watching, not so much because of any standard of liturgical or aesthetic propriety, but because the less particular they are, the more serviceable they become.

III

CRITERIA FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

The need for any development at all is often taken for granted, without examination. I have been present at discussions on this

theme when the need for development of forms of worship has been assumed, and almost totally unsupported by concrete reasons. Because we are living in a world where so many of the conditions of human life are in fact changing very rapidly, we are tempted to think that everything ought to change. In other words some desire for liturgical development may merely be due to the prevailing restlessness of the age in which we live. Or it may partly be due to a survival of the doctrine of inevitable progress in human affairs. In other departments of life this belief in progress as a law has been discredited. Yet it is not uncommon to hear people speak as though in matters of worship the progress-law is still valid and that if we go on trying, we shall of necessity do better and better, and in the end find the perfect Prayer Book.

Still, I do not stand here in order to declare that there are no good reasons for any Church to revise its Prayer Book. The movement for revision is too widespread in the Anglican Communion, and indeed outside it, for such an assertion to be complacently made. I only wish to emphasise that revision should not be undertaken "unadvisedly, lightly or wantonly . . . but reverently, discreetly, soberly and in the fear of God." And I venture to say that revisions of Prayer Books should be more modest in scope and less revolutionary than they commonly are. It must never be forgotten that the overwhelming majority of those who have to use the Prayer Book services are ordinary lay people. Most of them possess only meagre resources for appreciating the theological or liturgical reasons for alterations of what they have been accustomed to. What seems a logical and almost self-evident need for change in the mind of a trained theologian or an experienced liturgist may merely fill the ordinary worshipper with bewilderment. What may commend itself even to the rank and file of a representative ecclesiastical assembly as an improvement will often strike the man in the pew as mere arbitrary change, unwelcome and irritating. There is a gulf wider than is commonly supposed between those of us who decide on these questions and the great bulk of those who are affected by them. In a service not everywhere used in the Anglican Communion, there is an anathema which runs: "Cursed is he that removeth his neighbour's landmark." This might with advantage appear on the walls of every vestry, and in every conference hall where Church assemblies are gathered. For there are psychological and spiritual landmarks as well as material ones.

I am not however suggesting that no changes in services should ever be made. I only plead for a more diligent recollection of the probable effects of our decisions in the lives of church people and for a deeper

sense of responsibility in all who draw up new forms of worship.

During the eighteenth century the dioceses of France radically revised their service books. These revisions were often excellent in themselves and they were carried out with the idea of making the services more evangelical and more intelligible to the people. But they were too wholesale. They removed too many landmarks. They invested the services with a bleak unfamiliarity. This is said greatly to have contributed to the anti-Church element in the French Revolution.

The presence of this strong conservative spirit in the normal worshipper has not, however, been ignored by many churches. Attempts are usually made to recognise it, but, I suggest, often in the wrong way. It is for instance often decreed, when putting out new Prayer Books, that the old unrevised Book may still be used as it stands. Only with such a concession is it thought prudent to give authority to the new forms, which are plainly too novel to win universal acceptance. The result of this is not simply that the old and the new are used intact side by side. It is rather that, while both old and new are used intact by a small number, the great majority use the old as a basis, with varying degrees of borrowings from the new. This in practice means that the service in no two churches is the same, and that, though only authoritative forms are used, a condition of liturgical chaos has resulted. Would it not be a wiser policy to exercise greater restraint in compiling new forms, but when they are authorised to forbid the use of the old altogether? Such a policy might not justify itself all at once; a great deal of liturgical chaos and self-will would undoubtedly continue to prevail. But in the long run authority would gain in self-respect and consistency; in time it would win the loyalty of all but a handful. But an authority which, while wanting to advance is yet afraid to cut itself loose from the past, will always find it difficult to assert itself effectively.

So that is my first criterion for future development: revision of Prayer Books should at each stage be modest in scope, but when a Book is revised, the old should be scrapped. This is what, for instance, the Church of Ireland did in 1926. The second principle I put before you is that permissible alternatives *within* a revised Prayer Book should be very few. The English revision of 1928 was far too liberal in this respect. The late Dr. Brightman calculated that the rubrics provided for 384 varieties of Morning Prayer on an ordinary Sunday, without taking into account occasional prayers or hymns. This excessive licence granted to the minister's discretion has two bad results. First, it is highly desirable that worshippers shall follow the service in their books. Public worship needs this degree of close co-operation be-

tween priest and people. But a large number of even lawful variations makes following the service in a book difficult for most of a congregation. The need for moving on quickly to a later paragraph, or turning a page before you have reached the end of it, demands a nimbleness of mind and eye by no means universal. So people in despair drop the habit of following in the book. And next the habit of attending closely goes too. The co-operation between priest and people is thus weakened.

The second ill effect of many alternatives is that it develops in us clergy a habit of "choosiness" in our conduct of services. This may begin well within the lawful framework, but it probably will not end there. We get the impression that we are free to choose whatever we think suitable, especially as it is so difficult to remember what the rubrics actually permit or exclude. Lawful variations therefore should be few.

The third criterion for development which I commend to you concerns the principal Sunday morning service. Earlier in this paper I referred to the great change which has come over our worship during the past hundred years: namely the enthronement of Eucharistic worship in the centre of our normal church life. In practice this has led us to a dilemma. For historical reasons, in many branches of the Anglican Communion, the hour for the principal service of Sunday morning is usually comparatively late. Traditionally this service consisted of Mattins, Litany and Ante-Communion. The revival of Eucharistic worship has led in many places to the virtual eclipse of Mattins as a solemn public office, its place being taken by the celebration of the whole Eucharist with all the solemnity previously accorded to Morning Prayer and its attached rites. In other places the increased emphasis on the Eucharist has been accompanied by a reluctance to jettison the values of choral Mattins, and here the principal Eucharist is celebrated at an earlier hour, though without the ceremonial and musical expression which is plainly its due. Few are really happy with either of these two solutions. Those who have the late choral Eucharist miss the psalms and canticles and reading of the Old Testament, as precious parts of Sunday morning worship; those who retain choral Mattins are not always comfortable in thus giving it a higher degree of circumstance than that given to the more inherently solemn and central rite of the Eucharist.

As a matter of long-term policy would it not be wise to consider provision for a Sunday morning service which would include within the Eucharist some at least of those values which at present are confined to Mattins. It would scarcely be possible now to introduce a

fully sung Mattins followed at once by a fully sung Eucharist (even without the Litany) and expect a congregation to assist throughout every Sunday, all communicating at the end. But the Indian Prayer Book shows a way that might be followed. The Eucharist would begin with the singing of an Introit psalm. An Old Testament lesson would follow the Collects, and itself would be followed by a second psalm. The Epistle would come next, after which a canticle or hymn would precede the Gospel. The sermon would be preached after the Creed. If a litany is desired, the "Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church" could be cast in the form of a litany as is provided in the Indian Book. The Eucharist would then continue its normal course. A service of this type would solve many difficulties and I suggest that it would form a valuable principle to be kept in view where Prayer Book revision is taken in hand. The growing recognition of the importance of the Old Testament in the presentation of the Gospel, and of the Psalms as the most wholesome of all devotional food, need not here be stressed. A Sunday morning worship which omits these and which unduly exalts the Sacraments at the expense of the Word, or which exalts the Word at the expense of the Sacraments, is not one with which the Anglican genius could for ever be satisfied.

Before I close I wish to touch on an important factor not to be forgotten when considering development of Prayer Books.

What is it which, humanly speaking, holds together each of the different Communion into which the whole Church of Christ is now outwardly divided? Where are to be found those declarations of common faith, adherence to which is both the expression and test of membership? At any rate in Western Christendom no part of the Church is satisfied only with the historic Creeds. Each employs in addition some subsidiary standard which interprets the Creeds and states some of their implications. Such a standard normally takes the form of an intellectual statement of doctrine, such as the Augsburg Confession, or the Catechism of the Council of Trent. Loyalty to this Confession or Catechism becomes in a sense the cement which holds together and unites in common faith the Communion in question. What is it that serves this purpose in the Churches of the Anglican Communion? What holds us together? Not the Thirty-Nine Articles; for this statement of doctrine is not put forward at all in some parts of our Communion. Even in England it has never played the dominating rôle exercised by the Reformation Confessions or the Roman Catechism. It has shared pride of place as the standard of faith, subsidiary to the Creeds, with the *Book of Common Prayer*, and in this association

it has been in practice the junior partner. The Thirty-Nine Articles then are not our Confession. The Athanasian Creed asserts: "The Catholick Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity." The Anglican Church has seized upon this aspect of adherence to a common faith. We make of our common worship the principal means by which the Church lives true to and expresses its doctrine, rather than the giving of intellectual assent to doctrinal formulae. Through the use of the same, or very similar, forms of worship we absorb a common orthodoxy and breathe a common ethos. *Lex orandi* is always and everywhere *Lex credendi*, but very markedly so with us. That is why in our history we have had few heresy trials, but, however wrongly directed, many ritual prosecutions. It has been felt that to tamper with the way we worship is for an individual a more serious offence than to give false or injudicious teaching in books or sermons.

While preparing this address I have been confronted in a new way with the rich variety of those elements by which the Anglican faith is expressed in its differing forms of worship. There is no longer any rigid uniformity of words or pattern in the different liturgies of our Communion. Nor need there be. Yet they are recognisably all of one family. And this is not because most of them still retain the impress of Cranmer's genius, whether in actual phrases or liturgical plan. It is rather because they try to hold in due proportion the co-equality of the Word and the Sacraments, because they are truly congregational, and because the theology which dominates them is that reflected in "the godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers."

Holding to these principles the many Books of Common Prayer are still able to perform their function in the life of Anglican Christianity of being the means by which we are, humanly speaking, held together in a common faith. And these principles must continue to be held when fresh revisions of the Prayer Book are undertaken. We must always consider carefully two things: first, how far the new proposals will provide appropriately for the worship of our own people; but also, how far they promote that common approach to the Catholic faith which we describe as Anglicanism. It would be tragic if the Churches of our Communion were to lose touch with one another at this vital level. We all pray for the day when Christendom will be outwardly one, and when our divisions will be healed. At that glorious hour to claim to be a Lutheran or a Roman Catholic or an Anglican will be little more than making an historical assertion. But till that hour comes it is of high importance that we maintain our common life of faith and

worship in its traditional and distinctive Anglican form. In this vocation and duty the quality of our Books of Common Prayer matters much.

Reports of the discussions of Topic II were presented to the Congress in the same fashion as those of the first topic. At the general discussion session on Monday afternoon, August 9, the BISHOP OF RIPON (the Rt. Rev. George A. Chase) acted as Moderator, while MR. L. H. WILSON (New Zealand), Secretary of Group 7, read the statement of findings on the topic *Our Worship*. In accordance with the custom of having officers of the groups open the discussion, CANON R. R. HARTFORD (Ireland), Chairman of Group 6, and DR. C. G. KUEBLER (United States), Chairman of Group 20, each spoke briefly, expanding several of the points of the statement. After an animated discussion in which a large number of delegates participated, the Congress voted acceptance of the preliminary draft, subject to revision by the Editorial Committee in the light of suggestions and amendments, and presentation in final form for adoption on the last day of the sessions.

On the following morning Topic III: *Our Message* was placed before the Congress in papers read by the BISHOP OF ARMIDALE (the Rt. Rev. John S. Moyes), the BISHOP OF JOHANNESBURG (the Rt. Rev. Richard Ambrose Reeves), and DR. KATHLEEN BLISS, Delegate from the Church of England.

OUR MESSAGE

SALVATION AND THE INDIVIDUAL

BY

THE RT. REV. JOHN S. MOYES, TH.D.

Bishop of Armidale

Men today are asking many questions, but few are asking "What must I do to be saved?" The Church has failed to make this a compelling question. Why?

THE PROBLEM POSED BY MAN'S SITUATION

In part the Church herself has created her own problem by the limit she has placed on the message of salvation. The early Christians were known as men who turned the world upside down. Salvation was a message which concerned the present as well as the future. Today we Anglicans are known as a Church which tries to keep things as they are. It is another group, the Communists, which in our day are trying to turn the world upside down, while we are largely on the defensive. It has been said that they were able "to fire the wills and imaginations of men chiefly because the Christian Church defaulted in its hope." We have preached a God on the sidelines of life, not at the centre. Salvation has been preached as consolation here and hereafter in a determined world. It is said that we gave men God, but not bread; Marx gave them bread but not God. The Church had remembered the Temptation story, but not the Feeding of the Five Thousand. It would seem that the God of salvation must be in the midst of life as so often Jesus was, in life, and in death. It must needs be concerned with the whole life of the individual as Jesus was, body, mind and spirit. Our Gospel is for the wholeness of man in his human nature. For Christ took flesh to share the wholeness of human life. He was found in a carpenter's shop as well as the synagogue, or the house of sickness and death, and we cannot win men by making room for God only on the borderlines of life. Nor will it do to think of God in action just at the point where human resources fail. Too much has He been to us the God from the machine whom we called to our aid either to solve

unsolved problems, or as support in human failures. This attitude can only persist until men in their own strength push the borders further back and God seems to become superfluous. This is happening today, and man is managing his world without God, and is not interested in salvation in conventional individual terms.

This interest in individual salvation seems to many to have a selfishness at the heart of it. The individualism of the near past gives way to a mass life in a welfare state. There is then little interest in the good news of God. The individual sees the Gospel as irrelevant. In his obsession with this world he lives in only a portion of the house of life. Consequently, he has little or no consciousness of sin, or of spiritual need.

Also in part this situation has arisen because human interest has been concentrated on nature and what we call her conquest. True, no age has known so many different things about man, but has any age known less than ours what man is? Man has been taken for granted while men probe the mysteries of scientific discovery.

In our search to know nature and the universe we have reached a certain completeness of knowledge. In science, in art, in medicine, in machinery, man has learned many skills which can be used without recourse to God as a working hypothesis, and in most spheres of human affairs, even of human relationships, God has been edged out. As Dietrich Bonhoeffer put it, "The world has come of age and claimed independence."¹ The world seems self-sufficient, as if it can be understood from within in its own nature, and possesses the hidden roots of its own being. Only ultimate questions such as guilt and death seem beyond man's capacity.

As a result of all this, humanity today has a measure of arrogance. It has achieved much. Human frailties still remain, but a salvation which only deals with them will not capture man's loyalty today, nor claim his acceptance of it. God must be relevant not just where men fail, but where they succeed; not in human weakness only, but also in human strength. It is man's strength in which he needs to be saved. Man's pride is the stumbling block of the age.

Furthermore, a man's pride in frustration often issues in a bitter sense of grievance against God and distorts his outlook. In Cain you see that perennial conflict between the passionate claim of man to be independent, and the no less passionate terror of being left alone, the obscure fear of hell to which independence leads and the unwillingness to surrender and to trust. The more man repudiates God to seek salvation in other ways, the more evidently his efforts will include a

¹ *Letters and Papers from Prison* (London: Macmillan, 1953), p. 145.

sense of grievance having a moral origin. But no appeals or exhortations addressed to his will in the name of morality will save him. He cannot attain salvation without the intervention of the grace of God. "There is no health in us."

In such a world as this what is the significance of a doctrine of salvation? Can the Church of today pierce the armour of human self-satisfaction as well as minister to its despair? Can we present the salvation in Christ to save the men of our time? Indeed the human individual is a strange medley, and he hates to face himself. Our collectivenesses are our last refuge from solitariness, in some measure our way of hiding from God.

THE DEVELOPING MEANING OF SALVATION

First of all then, what have we to offer, what do we mean by salvation? There can be little doubt that the content of salvation has varied down the ages according to the human situation, but it was leading up to a final meaning universal and complete. In the Old Testament it meant deliverance, such a deliverance as a man could not accomplish for himself. It might be from the slavery of Egypt, from invading foes, from oppression, famine, drought, sickness or pestilence. Jehovah was a man of war; the Judges were Saviours. Thus salvation was deliverance from a present evil; it was largely external, involving earthly blessings. It was not *in vacuo*, it fitted the life situation. Even so its consummation was not just in the present. That consummation would be preceded by judgment, when Israel (as well as others) would pay recompense for her sins, and the faithful remnant know the final joy. This idea of a Messiah is found in psalms and prophets, and passes over into the Apocalyptic books, finally appearing in the New Testament replete with deepened spiritual meaning.

The Messianic ideal moved from being merely earthly to being transcendent and from involving the salvation of the nation to including the salvation of the individual. Jeremiah and Ezekiel are the pioneers of this growing individualism. In the earlier prophets the Messiah's work is largely this-worldly, the righting of the wrongs of the oppressed and caring for the widows and the fatherless. And this approach brings a new sense of intimacy with God, such as the Psalms reveal, a confidence, a joy, a deeper trust. Later still, the meaning of salvation overpasses the limits of this life in a conception of resurrection.

Most important of all: whereas the earlier idea of salvation provided a deliverance from external troubles, from what were often the consequences of sin, the later prophets (and the Psalmists also)

came to realize that there is needed a deliverance from sin itself. And repentance which is the way to this deliverance can only come by divine help. The same ideas and conceptions persist and develop in the age between the Old and New Testaments.

CHRIST'S GOSPEL OF SALVATION

Into such a world of thought came Jesus Christ with His Gospel of salvation, but a Gospel not of words alone, but in action. "The Word was made flesh." In Jesus Christ God entered human history. God is providing in Jesus Christ the answer to the problem of evil from which man needs to be delivered.

"Evil exists in four forms, ignorance, ugliness, suffering and sin."² God is thus concerned with bodily health, with hunger and its satisfaction, with anxiety and its solution, with beauty, with truth, and all these are linked with salvation.

The Old Testament is the record of God's education of His people to "see that sin is the hard core of the problem of evil," and "the New Testament is the record of the action taken by God to free His world from all evil by striking at its centre, sin." "Thou shalt call his name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins."

But Jesus does not win this struggle merely by a direct attack on evil, but by the emphasis on good, by bringing in positive fashion before men in life and in words the reality of the rule of God, the Kingdom of God and its meaning for life and living. Nevertheless, He made clear His attitude to evil and evils, by healing the sick, casting out demons, feeding the hungry, raising the dead, forgiving sins. The range of His saving included the *whole* of life.

It is strange that Jesus is reported in the Gospel as using the word "salvation" only twice—to Zaccheus and to the woman of Sychar. But the idea comes often. Salvation is the obverse side of the Gospel of the Kingdom which was the burden of the Saviour's preaching.

This Kingdom belongs to a higher order than do earthly kingdoms. But its blessings are not confined to narrowly spiritual blessings; it is concerned with the conquest of evils in every day life. In Christ, the Kingdom is already present and is being revealed in His every day living. He Himself reveals the rule of God, not only in a sinless life, but by His own perfect health, His power over evils, and by His control of the forces of nature. To empty out the "signs" from the Gospels is to rob us of relevant matter declaring the full meaning of the Incarnation. God is for Jesus central for life, and in control. Moreover

² Leonard Hodgson, *The Doctrine of the Atonement* (New York: Scribners, 1951), p. 17.

God is closely interested in human affairs; He is a God near at hand, not a God far off. Despite Satan's grip on the world, the world is still God's world.

To be saved then is to live under the rule of God, to see the Kingdom, and to enter the Kingdom. Thus salvation can be a present experience. The sinful woman is told, "Go in peace." Zaccheus is informed that salvation has come to his house. In the healing of the sick and the casting out of devils the disciples are asked to seek the breaking down of Satan's kingdom and the beginnings on earth of an era of blessedness.

And the idea of salvation is essentially individual. Most of Jesus' time was spent with individuals, and when He set the conditions of entrance to the Kingdom they are such conditions as each must fulfill for himself, conversion and faith. The power of conscious choice resides in the individual, not in the group.

But in His conception of salvation He went far beyond His contemporaries. To the Pharisees salvation was the reward of righteousness, the righteousness of law. And the multitude which knew not the law were accursed. But it was to these outcasts, the poor and despised, as well as to the Scribes and Pharisees that Jesus gave the good news. He came to seek and save the lost, to call sinners to repentance. He ate and drank with publicans and sinners. He swept away the burden of ceremonial law. He had no place for a spiritual aristocracy other than those who in a childlike spirit entered the Kingdom. And He brought to light not in word only, but in power the divine forgiveness of sins.

Herein lies the universalism of Jesus Christ. A Gospel for sinful men knows no limitation, for "all have sinned and come short of the glory of God." It may be there is nothing else which all men have in common as they have this fact of sin and need for forgiveness. The Messiah of the Jews is the Saviour of the world, saving men one by one, saving them to serve, saving them by giving His life a ransom for many; saving others but "himself he cannot save."

In Him has come into the world a new life, a life expressing the reign of God, a life with an eternal quality that can break the bonds of sin and open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers, a life that makes men really men.

TRANSFORMATION OF A WORLD VIEW

This salvation wrought by Jesus Christ is the theme of the apostolic preaching. There is a new note of hope and triumph as the preaching in the Holy Spirit brings a new society into being. Men have been

"begotten to a lively hope" and are everywhere anxious to share it with others. Salvation through Jesus Christ is a glorious fact, and though there may be variations in emphasis on details of its meaning, yet the word "hope" is central. And by hope is not meant a wistful, or a wishful thinking, but an assured certainty based on the things God has done through Christ. It is hope now, not just hereafter. The Christ who overcomes sin has overcome the world and vanquished death.

It is strange, as has often been pointed out, that the word "hope" does not occur in the Gospels. Hope came, so St. Peter declares, by the Resurrection. Christ has won a victory over sin and over the death which is sin's wages. The world of that day had lost its nerve, and hope, a better hope, was its great need, a hope based on reality. The Christian hope sent men back to their life in this world in a wholly new way. The fear-ridden men of the Upper Room are the unafraid men of Pentecost and after. Their salvation was not an escape in the eternal from earthly tasks, but the power to "drink the Cup," and as they did so, the Crucified and Risen Lord was with them, taking hold of them in the centres of their lives and making them redemptive as well as redeemed. What is it Christ has done for these men in saving them? They are "in Christ," the life that is His is theirs in the Holy Spirit. They have a new outlook on life, a new attitude to their fellows, a new power to meet men and nature, a new health in mind, body and spirit, a joy of forgiveness, a security in God that leaves them unafraid of man, a knowledge that things seen can be used of God to convey things eternal, and a certainty that the Risen Christ will conquer fear, sin and death. They are the children of God. And men take knowledge of them "that they have been with Jesus."

THE DWARFING OF MAN TODAY

This message and life are essentially the need of today. Martin Buber suggests that the keynote of the modern world is that man is lagging behind his works. Though "mankind has come of age and no longer needs the hypothesis of God," to quote Dietrich Bonhoeffer, yet man is not able to master the world which he himself has brought about. It is becoming stronger than he is; it is winning free from him; it confronts him with an almost elemental independence, and he no longer knows the word which could subdue and render harmless the clay figure he has created. He cannot decide the values of the things he creates. He must use them. They are facts. Man is once again a slave. He has eaten of the tree of knowledge abundantly, but

insufficiently of the tree of life. Hence he uses his knowledge for death and not for life.

There is something terrifying about the powers men handle in the physics laboratories of the world, many such men seemingly conscious only of the physical world, intent on pressing forward to new discoveries, and unconscious of any moral responsibility, or if conscious, refusing to accept responsibility for the forces they may unleash and set at the disposal of mankind. These forces are not of our creation. They are already there, part of the bequest of the Creator to man. But He who set the universe in action alone knows how it was meant to act. We cannot handle God's world aright unless we are God's men. *Hence man's hope lies in Jesus Christ.* He, in the quality of His life in God, can control nature. We do it in some measure by techniques based on knowledge of nature's laws and organization. Man lacks and needs a spiritual vitality that will provide both the love of others that would set the reason for the use of world forces, and the wisdom that would direct that use in constructive ways. When the author of the Fourth Gospel wrote that "in Him was life," he wrote what was literally true. What streams forth from Bethlehem and Calvary is the true life of man. "Whoever touches Jesus of Nazareth, even distantly, touches life and enters at least upon the possibility of being transformed after the likeness of Christ."

GOD'S LOVE IN CHRIST

But God will not force man's loyalty, nor obedience. The life of Jesus Christ shows how God allows Himself to be crowded out of the world on to the Cross, if thereby He might save men. And that is how He saves us. In Jesus Christ the divine nature is not seen in its naked splendour; it is seen only as mediated through manhood. And that nature works not by titanic power but in love and reverence for every life. His human nature is the instrument through which God's love and man's possibilities are seen. The proud world beat itself out upon Him unto death, but failed to separate man from God in Him.

DELIVERANCE

So the Gospel of salvation in Jesus Christ is first and foremost a deliverance from sin. In Christ we can come back to God, in Christ we can live in God. Though the world takes no account of this today, yet it is the truth about the world and the action of the love of God. This Gospel goes deeper than any other mankind knows. It goes to the root cause of human woe, to man's selfishness, pride, anxiety and

despair. It claims to deliver man from sin, to restore him to that fellowship with God which is eternal life. This battle with sin, Jesus conducted in Himself unto death. His death is the final act of love, of His reverence for men, so that He loves them to the uttermost, even while they crucify Him. Many have been puzzled by the emphasis on the death of Christ. But the self-offering of Jesus could not be complete until He had carried it into that leap into the dark which we call death, until He had prayed "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." In a sinful world, self surrender reaches its climax in the acceptance of death as God's will. Salvation thus is an objective fact. On the Cross something was accomplished, something done. This has Jesus Christ done for us. And as our final salvation is attained in the moment when our self surrender is complete, our death is as important for us as His was for Him. No wonder we pray lest any pain of death may cause us to fall from Him. Thus death can have a religious value. It can be the outward and visible sign of a completed offering of life to God. But it is not the physical death itself, but the surrendered will which accepts death that gives value to the sign.

Apart from the surrendered will, death is merely the capital punishment which holiness claims from sin. Physical death thus can be an ambiguous thing. It can represent the end of a life process which may be on the one hand the sacrifice which issues in eternal life, or on the other hand the destruction which is man's final condemnation. The law death symbolizes is the fact that for each soul there must come an end to both *chronos* and *kairos*, both to time and to opportunity, and if to the very end the soul uses its freedom to reject God and salvation, then even God cannot save it.

THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNICATION

I have tried to set out briefly the meaning and manner of salvation for the individual. How heavy a task then lies on the Church of presenting the salvation to a world of men strong in their achievements, unconscious of the need for God, and in danger of destroying themselves both in time and in eternity. It is an urgent task. Obviously merely to preach in words will not today communicate the Gospel to men. It must be communicated as Jesus did by "a way of life." And yet immense attention must be given to preaching. It is almost certain that part of what I have said to you today, in the language used, would be unintelligible to the man in the street.

The eagerness with which the ordinary man grasps at modern versions of the Bible is clear evidence there is a hunger for the good

news. But he cannot see that as we present it, it has anything to do with his life.

Our contemporaries have very little sense of history. It does not mean anything to them. Even the conditions of life fifty years ago have no relation to lives as they are lived today. To the ordinary man it is not religion that has turned the world upside down, but science.

Also we have reached a far advanced stage of individualism. The solidarity of mankind is not a reality today. But the meaning of the death of Jesus is linked with that. It concerns every man but also all men in relationship. In the context of thought today Jesus is just an individual who lived and died two thousand years ago. What connections can He have with men today?

It is very clear that we need to train men to minister and to preach with this environment before them. The preacher needs to know his world as well as his Gospel. And he needs to be able to preach in parables that express the other-worldly in terms of the world of today, to do in fact what Jesus Christ did for the people of His generation. But more than that, the man in the ministry needs to be not only a man of deep learning and wide reading, but of insight and sympathy, and above all to be an apostolic man filled with the Spirit bringing men into touch with a living contemporary power. Thus can he begin to solve the problem of communication.

Even then will such men persuade their fellows to come and listen? The burden lies not on the clergy alone. When in history prophecy had faded away and the spoken word availed not, "the Word was made flesh." The Incarnation was action, an action which made words possible. "He came where he was." Christ entered man's situation. He plunged Himself into the life of the godless world, seeing the power of evil, loving men despite the evil in them, serving men despite ingratitude, mixing with men despite hate and misunderstanding, never allowing evil to enter His life, but allowing it to work its deadly results on His life even to death.

"The third day he rose again from the dead." The death of Christ on the Cross was the re-creation of man, not just its prior condition. Our representative, He paid our debt of death, He won the victory over our foes. He saved us, even though the fruits of that victory must still be produced in us by grace as we live in Him. The strategic battle was won by Him and evil overthrown, but evil is still active until God's "V-Day" shall come. And because evil is still active the Church has a task as the Body of Christ to "fill up that which is lacking in the sufferings of Christ." She must be active to evangelize,

to bring salvation to the men of our time. As was said earlier, it is an individualist age, and yet it is a collectivist age. Men seek a refuge.

The problem of communication is not only, then, a problem of technique in preaching, but also of providing a "Word made Flesh," a living community through which Christ can work. In the first century when lonely and embittered men came near the Church they were met by a community, a new society growing up beneath the society of the Empire and compacted with a new quality of life. Churchmen need to know that "to be a Christian today is not just to be attached to Christ as an individual but to be 'in Christ,' " that is, to be in His Church as a living, active, worshipping and witnessing member. "The Christian Society was, in its measure and in its place in the divine order, to be the Christ."³ The Anglican Communion needs to make this kind of community a reality. The word must take flesh here and now. And to this end the Church must, says Bishop Neill, manifest certain principles: "The basis of its life must be that supreme respect for human personality which was characteristic at all times of the ministry of Jesus. He showed this respect by His attitude to all, even the most degraded. He made it plain that He regarded every individual as of infinite value just because each was potentially a son of God."

He wanted them. He loved them. A key word for Him was "neighbour." We need to discover again the meaning of "our neighbour." Our world breaks personal relations. It classifies men and we know them by group names and not as brothers for whom Christ died. The desperate illness of our time is that men do not know how to receive love from God or from each other. The coinage has been debased and men do not believe in love. The love of God only becomes possible to men who know they are loved. The task of *every* congregation is to become a body which reaches out arms of love to every man. The Holy Spirit through prayer can alone make this come true. Humanly speaking it is impossible, but not with God. This is a costly thing if it is to happen in us and through us.

A second principle is this. Every man is free to say "No!" to Jesus Christ and to His Church. God does not compel. Even the Twelve can go away if they wish. But "those who yield themselves to the service of the new society must do so without reservation and without compromise. The only way to receive Jesus Christ is to yield to Him just such obedience as He yielded to God. Never in history has any leader made so absolute a claim on the loyalty of His followers. Nothing can come between them and their loyalty to the cause.

³ Stephen Neill, *The Christian Society* (London: Nisbet, 1952), pp. 19 ff.

There is something terrifying in the hardness and sternness with which the demand is reiterated. It is through those who have fully accepted the conditions that the Church lives on." We must take up the Cross.

How do we of the Anglican Communion measure up to the standard Jesus asked of the first disciples? What depth of consecration do we ask in His Name of those who occupy office, high or low, within our Communion, and of those who claim church membership? What do we ask of those who come to be confirmed? How often is Confirmation a sacrament of conversion? How many of those who ask the Church's blessing on their marriage are tested as to their loyalty to Him whose blessing they ask? We may have much to learn from the Seven Churches of Asia, all of which perished off the face of the earth. This sternness of standard is demanded of our members by the intensity of the battle we have to fight. We are not just an ark, but a battleship in the spiritual realm. Is it possible we Anglicans have not a sufficiently keen realization of the evil forces deployed against mankind, of the corruption that is in the world through lust, pride and passion, power and greed? We have emphasized so deeply the wonder of the Incarnation—have we sufficiently emphasized the glory of the Cross?

You will remember the words of Archbishop Temple, "If any man can say truly 'I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me,' he is saved. And this alone is salvation. Consequently for the man as yet unsaved the essential need is conversion, a change in the direction of his life." We need to ponder these things, for in our deep and true belief in God giving His grace through the Sacraments we are not always careful to realize the human response of repentance and faith required. As our Prayer Book seems to do, we take it for granted that all our people are converted or have no need for conversion. Do we not need, together with an emphasis on the Sacraments, a deep emphasis on justification by faith? Lacking this balance we have a weakness in our witness and a depth of complacency. Are our Churches ever shaken by the power of prayer within them, and the stirring of the Holy Spirit? The utter dedication of each to Christ in His Church will mean the birth of community. At present for the most part we are many individuals each making his communion on Sundays and going his way. But it is not my communion, but ours. Given this sense we become a family. Such a family through common action, such as an evangelistic mission, or a community centre, can and does attract the outsider, for fellowship brings in the lonely, and visitation by groups, not just individuals, makes real to men the love of the Body of Christ.

But the witness of the Body is not only the witness of the con-

gregation as a whole through its worship and love, but also the witness of the individual members. The Anglican Communion has ever been weak in this side of its life. Witness has been left largely to the clergy, whereas the laity have been thought of as passengers. Yet they are in the world to witness for God to the world and their influence day by day in their several callings, or in their public offices, will be a means of communication of the Gospel of salvation to their fellows, if in these callings they live as Christ's men, if they show, as Jacques Ellul has it, a Christian "style of life."

For it is unhappily largely true of the Christian community that our religious observances are an adjunct to lives which take their standards and patterns from our social class and our environment. It is not always our spiritual relationship with Christ, which fashions our style of life. But it must be, if in this strange world of today with its mingled arrogance and fears, its self-assertion and loneliness, the Church by its witness is to reverse human values and open doors for the coming of the Kingdom of God in the affairs of men.

We bishops, clergy and people must know this salvation as St. Paul knew it; we must know what it is to die with Christ and rise to newness of life, and to live under the guardianship of the peace of God which passeth all understanding. For we are His witnesses.

THE CHURCH AND THE FAMILY

BY

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All down the ages Christians have seen the family as the natural unit out of which the Church is to be built up, for the function of the Christian family is, in the phrase of a recent writer, "to increase the population of heaven." But concern for the well-being of family life has by no means been confined to those who are members of the Church. On the contrary, it has been generally assumed for centuries that a stable family life is the basis of human society. That is natural, because the purpose of family life has ever remained the same, namely, to educate and nourish its members in the small circle of the home, and to do that in such a way that they may live as responsible members of the community. So it is that society as much as the Church is bound to be deeply concerned with the continuance of an

enduring and healthy family life. And it is the same for individuals. Everywhere we find members of every social class and of all races taking a pride in their home and family. However short they may fall of their ideal in practice, most people have an image in their minds of what they believe their married and family life ought to be like. Whatever the fortunes of their own home may be, they remain convinced that "blood is thicker than water."

Yet despite the tremendous importance of a continuing married life and a stable home to the Church, the community and the individual alike, we are confronted by the fact that in every country in a varying degree marriages are dissolved, homes are broken up, and children are robbed of that care of both their parents which they have every right to expect. Indeed, in many places we have reached a situation in which this primary human institution is constantly subjected to a great variety of attacks from without, and is threatened by disintegration from within. Indeed few of us can be completely unaware of the unnatural strains and stresses which threaten home and family life. This is not to overlook the fact that there remain great numbers of ordinary people in every land who succeed in establishing a satisfactory marriage and a satisfying family life. They are not news. Neither the press nor the radio record their doings. They never form an interesting topic of conversation over afternoon tea. But we owe more to this great company of quite ordinary folk than we often realize. To them belongs very largely the credit for the fact that the structure of our society persists sufficiently in our sadly disordered world to enable the Church to continue its work in the world. Nor, in drawing attention to the dangers which now confront the family, am I suggesting that such difficulties are only a recent phenomenon. Husbands and wives, parents and children, have disagreed and have quarrelled in every generation. In previous generations, however, couples were held together, in spite of their many conflicts, by the forces of law and religion, by social custom and public opinion. Today, public opinion against the break-up of the home is relatively weak; polygamy by succession has become an accepted mode of conduct in some circles in society. In many countries the law makes it ever easier for married couples to part, once differences arise between them; and, worst of all, for great masses of people everywhere religious faith has become very dim, with the result that they are indifferent, if not openly hostile, to the claims of religion upon their behaviour. So far has all this gone in some communities that thoughtful people are beginning to wonder how long society itself can continue to exist in the face of such widespread instability in so

many homes. But be that as it may, we are bound to examine some, at any rate, of the forces against which the family is now having to battle if we are to discover at all clearly any ways in which the Church may more effectively labour for the strengthening of family life.

The causes of the present difficulties confronting so many families in part lie in those forces which are undermining home life from without. In some countries, such as South Africa, a rapid change is taking place from an agricultural to an industrial form of society, with the result that members of all classes and all races in society are on the move from the countryside to the cities and towns. Once there, many of them move frequently from place to place, staying nowhere long enough to have any sense of belonging to a particular neighbourhood. This results in a growing number of people having no roots anywhere; people who live out their life without ever achieving any organic relationship with their neighbours. This is particularly serious for the younger generation. The fact that they are continually being flung into a new environment means that they may easily find very different standards of life in the varying social groups in which they live from time to time. Yet even if people are not caught up in the restlessness that besets so many, we have to face the fact that their children are often exposed to great strains and stresses when they go to school, for sometimes schools in which they are being educated are too detached from the communities they seek to serve. The result is such children find it difficult to relate what they learn at school to the life which they live in the home. A conflict is set up in their minds, and in many cases the authority of the home in consequence is impaired.

Even more serious is the tendency among some, at any rate, of those who concern themselves with human problems, of dealing with those problems exclusively either in individual or community terms. So often they overlook the fact that the family is the key to both a healthy individual and community life. Those who are rightly concerned with the problems of individuals ought also to take seriously the families in which such people are members. Here more than a passing reference must be made to the appalling insufficiency of houses available for housing families in so many countries, at prices within their financial resources. This is a question which is constantly before us in a city growing as rapidly as Johannesburg, where some of our Europeans are housed in disgraceful conditions, and it is estimated that we have a shortage of no less than fifty thousand houses for African urban workers. No doubt this is an extreme instance, but

my impression is that similar housing shortages exist in many places, and for that reason this is a matter to which we all ought to direct our attention. There are few things that can more easily impair the happiness of home life and hinder a full life for the members of a family than inadequate housing. It is no wonder if moral disaster follows from inadequate bedroom accommodation, and even if this does not happen, there is a general blunting of the finer susceptibilities when there is no possibility of privacy or decorum, when there is a lack of adequate space for family recreation and nowhere for the children to do their homework and no chance to exercise that hospitality which is an essential expression of any full family life. We must also notice the growing tendency in many large centres of population to substitute the erection of flats for the building of houses. There is no doubt that flats provide a more convenient type of accommodation for certain sections of the population, but it is deplorable if their erection proceeds at the expense of providing houses for married people, especially the recently married and those with children. Bad housing and cramped conditions in flats drive people out of and away from their homes in their leisure hours, and tend to reduce their dwellings to mere places of lodging. Surely the provision of proper housing ought to be a major concern of all church people, for there is no doubt that overcrowded and inadequate housing conditions are a serious menace to the moral and physical welfare of any family, and go far towards destroying the possibility of a full and happy home life.

Many people are the victims of those forces which press heavily upon their homes from outside the family circle. But even more serious are the forces which often betray married life from within the home. Among these we may notice three such forces which are especially dangerous. First, there is the notion of romantic love which is so prevalent at the moment; a notion which is fostered by much which is read and heard and seen in novels, over the radio, on television, and in the cinema. By "romantic love" I am not referring to the romance of married life which brings delight and blessing to those who are married, but to the modern cult of being in love with love. This cult of passion is greatly stimulated by all kinds of artificial suggestions and false ideas which lead those who accept them to believe that passion is to be equated with fate, and as such must not be resisted. Romantic love has now become a sacred mystery claiming the devotion of masses of people. It regards love as the most vivid expression of egotism, demanding to possess and experience, and dismissing the historic role of marriage as completely outmoded. Marriages which are based on passion and inspired by the notion of

romantic love are foredoomed to failure, for if there is some frustration in sexual fulfilment, or a delay in mutual adjustment after marriage, then those concerned question the validity of their love for one another, for their relationship is both selfish and irresponsible. To say this is not for one moment to deny the importance of mutual sexual harmony for health and peace in married life. It is only to insist that a marriage based on the false notion of romantic love is asking for disaster. Such people conclude only too easily that, after all, they were not meant for one another, and the sooner they get divorced, the better. Certainly, passionate love is a normal part of married life, but it is false to imagine either that it is the whole of marriage, or that it provides an adequate basis for life together. Yet as a result of this prevailing cult of romantic love, too many people enter into marriage as if it were a "limited liability."

This is the second factor threatening the security of family life from within. A "limited liability" view of marriage fails to realize that married life is the commitment of a person to a person. Once some particular *thing* which attracted them to one another disappears or fails any longer to attract, then those concerned ask why they should remain faithful to one another. Here we have to notice how powerfully science often affects such people, for with the smattering of scientific jargon which they have picked up, they often declare that their marriage must be dissolved in order that they may be themselves. Unquestionably modern psychology is right in emphasizing the importance of the development of personality, but it is erroneous to conclude, as those do who have picked up scraps of psychological terminology, that such development comes about only in easy and pleasant ways. This "limited liability" view of marriage can strike a fatal blow at the capacity which human beings have to give themselves, and to crown their emotional impulses and their convictions with a vow. The fact that many people today lack faith in the permanence of their own love and have not the courage to honour lifelong vows to which they have pledged themselves, is no evidence that our generation is full-blooded. On the contrary, it is a sign that we have become enfeebled and anaemic. Certainly, there are those who maintain that fidelity in marriage involves an improper renunciation of their freedom. We have to admit that on their view of freedom it certainly does, because they equate freedom with their desire for as wide a range of experience as is possible with members of the opposite sex. Still less do they pause to ask what the consequences of their attitude will be upon their children, an effect which is usually disastrous for the children concerned.

Thirdly, and perhaps most serious of all, is the utter confusion in moral ideas in which many people today find themselves. As a result of the advance of science many who know little about the patient work of scientists have come to the conclusion that every circumstance in life can be met and dealt with satisfactorily if only one has sufficient scientific knowledge and knows the proper techniques. So many people fail to realize that many of the tangles that arise in married life are not a result of inadequate scientific knowledge, but are due to a failure in duty, or patience, or forgiveness, or sympathy. They assume that all their difficulties can be solved if only the proper scientific expert can be found to deal with them. Undoubtedly the expert can help people in their times of difficulty, but this help is rarely a sufficient answer for those who most of all need to find peace with God and with one another. So much, then, for some of the forces which are making life unnaturally difficult for so many members of families. At once we are bound to ask how the Church can best help both in strengthening those who through a satisfactory family life are already making a considerable contribution to the well-being of the community, and the restoration of those families that are threatened with disaster.

First, I would urge the necessity for the Church to treat the family as the family. That may sound almost a trivial commonplace, but I believe that on reflection we shall find that it demands a complete reorientation of a great deal of the thinking and practice of the Church towards the family. Indeed, I would go further and say that the pattern of a great deal of the life of many of our congregations, however inadvertently, is inimical to a healthy family life. Perhaps if we were bold enough we ought to have included the Church as one of the external forces that are pressing so harmfully upon family life. But be that as it may, is it not our common experience that many congregations are only an almost fortuitous conglomeration of individuals drawn from homes about which we are woefully ignorant? It has become popular to speak somewhat scornfully of Victorian religion, but it might be well if we paused and realized that with its passing we have lost at least one thing of tremendous value, namely, the family pew with the family worshipping together. Indeed, sometimes even when we do have families in the congregation, we do our best to fragment the life of such families by arranging a multiplicity of services for children, youth, mothers—not usually fathers—and by persuading the members of families to belong to this or that organization in the church which by its very nature excludes the other members of the family. At the risk of being considered

completely revolutionary, I would suggest seriously that we ought to take trouble to discover ways and means in which families can be built as families into the life of the Church, even if that should mean that we have to reorder the organizational side of the life of the local church, scrapping some organizations entirely and drastically modifying others. And if that should be considered too drastic, save as a long-term policy, we could begin by striving for a restoration of family worship. The most natural place for this to begin is at the altar, when whole families may join together in offering the Eucharistic Sacrifice in order that they may be made one in a supernatural family in the Church. Yet here again, for this to be realized a drastic change of present practice will have to come about in many parishes. Instead of a succession of services of Holy Communion on Sunday, there would have to be one Eucharist for the whole parish at an hour when whole families, little children, teenagers, parents and grandparents could come together, when all who are confirmed can make their communion, and when, if at all possible, all could have breakfast together after the service. Few who have been privileged to see this in action would question the inestimable blessing such family worship around the altar brings to the local church; but I believe that, even if they are not as readily observable, the effects upon the human families taking part week by week in family Eucharistic worship are just as remarkable.

We have already noticed that all too many people today are the victims of the false notion of romantic love, of erroneous ideas of the responsibilities of marriage, and of the general moral confusion of our times. To all this we must add the fact that while most people embark on marriage expecting to make a success of it, all too few are at all adequately prepared for the obligations and trials that married life brings with it. And that is true, alas, of a great many of our young church people. Too frequently it is assumed that, while it is necessary to train a girl carefully in order that she may type letters, and that a boy must have a university training to fit him to earn his living, both boy and girl will fulfil the roles of husband and wife, and later of parents, by the light of nature. The tragedy is that for so many of our young people that light is so dim. Here in the Church we have a tremendous responsibility to see that our own younger members are given a far better preparation for marriage than most of us are attempting at the moment. No doubt much of such training is best given in a well-guided home, for few things help more to prepare youngsters for family responsibilities than a happy and full home life. Yet there is a great deal of that preparation which is not achieved

instinctively, but which has to be taught. More than that, we need to make adequate provision for helping not only those who are thinking of marriage, but also those in our congregations who are parents of both young and adolescent children. And in saying that, I am not thinking only of communicating certain technical knowledge to them, important though that may be. Rather, I have in mind preparing our people for marriage and parenthood in such a way that the training they are given will evoke character, stimulate thought, and train the emotions. Surely as a Church we have a responsibility to teach our own people the importance of each member of the family, the nature of the relationship between its members, and especially the responsibilities of parents to each other and to their children.

But over and above our immediate responsibility for the family life of our own membership, we have a duty to stir the conscience of society in all matters that concern the well-being of the family. For example, the fact that all over the world great numbers of people have to live in overcrowded and insanitary conditions which are a menace to their physical and moral welfare ought to be something which so burdens our hearts and minds that we cannot keep silent about it. In season and out of season we ought to be bringing before the community the urgent need to provide decent and adequate homes. Here is a basic issue on which it is possible for the Church to take action and to make itself felt effectively. No doubt many church people and leaders of our Church have played a leading and conspicuous part in remedying slum conditions and pleading for better housing in many places, but much more needs to be done in this field than has yet been attempted. It would be a tremendous thing if from this Congress there went forth a clear call to churchmen everywhere to do their utmost to remedy the bad conditions of housing in the places where they live. Then men might realize that, while we are concerned to preserve and protect Christian family life, we do not disdain to think in terms of stone and brick and mortar. Again, we have a duty to see that the State exercises care in the type of legislation which it passes affecting the family as family. There seems to be a growing tendency on the part of the State in many lands both to try to deal with the failures in family life by laws which only make it more difficult for parents to do their duty as parents, and, what is often more serious, to take over more and more functions which properly belong to parents, with the result that the sense of their responsibility as parents is being continually weakened.

Similarly, if we are to make our concern for family life articulate in the life of society we must be concerned with the fact that, as at pres-

ently ordered, society places undue economic burdens on a great number of families. As long ago as 1918 in England the authors of the Archbishop's Committee on Christianity and Industrial Problems asked this pertinent question: "Why do large numbers of men and women, who have not fallen into exceptional distress, derive a meager and precarious livelihood from industries which appear to yield another and a smaller number considerable affluence." They went on to comment: "The evil of poverty, in short, is not merely that many have too little for a life worthy of man. It is that many have too little, while others have too much. . . . Christianity [they added] has very little to do with teaching men to be rich. It is concerned very much with teaching them to be just." Today there are millions of families who pass their days in the shadow of economic insecurity, and who in consequence are denied any real place in the life of the community. This ought to trouble our consciences so deeply that we are unable to rest until we have brought home to men everywhere the unnatural strains and stresses to which such poverty is exposing countless families.

Yet in all our speaking and activity in the Church and in society for the upholding of family life, we need always to remember that life is ever more eloquent than words, and that our own conduct and our own behaviour in our own family circle will exercise more influence than all our protesting; more even than all our endeavours on behalf of other families. All of us have certain responsibilities and duties as members of particular families, and the very best way that we can commend Christian family life to others is to show them in our own family life that it is rich and noble in its quality and effect.

Speaking thus of family life, we cannot overlook the fact that in many parts of the world today the situation in which families find themselves is greatly complicated by the existence of tension and strife between the various ethnic groups in any particular country. Just because these racial group tensions are today making their impact upon human beings on such a vast scale that practically all peoples in the world are being caught up in what is often called "the race problem," we are bound to consider in some detail the question of intergroup relations. If we go back to the Bible we soon discover that, whereas in the Old Testament God chose Israel to be His servant and made a covenant with this chosen people, in the New Testament this covenant with the Hebrews is superseded by a new covenant made by God with all those who believe in Jesus Christ, whatever may be the tribe, or nation, or race to which they belong. In other words, the old distinction between Jew and Gentile is done

away, and the distinction is now between those who have been baptized into the new Israel, the Christian Church, the Body and Bride of Christ, and those who have not. Certainly the Bible allows for people out of all races being members of the Church, but it knows nothing of any divisions in the Church based upon race or colour. Similarly, the Bible says nothing for or against the intermarriage of people of different ethnic groups. Its concern is with the building up of the Body of Christ, composed of people drawn from all nations, peoples and tongues. Truly, Jesus was the Messiah of Israel and a member of that racial group who were God's chosen people. But the decisive thing about Jesus Christ was not that He was of the house of David, but that He was the Son of God, come into the world to be "a light to lighten the Gentiles" as well as "the glory of his people Israel." Through Christ Jesus sin is conquered and the wall of partition which separates man from God and from his fellows is broken down. Now a new race appears in the world. So St. Paul can write, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is no male and female: for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus."

There can be no question that for centuries the Church included within its fellowship people of any colour and race. The fact that in comparatively recent times the spreading of the white race across the world, with the subjugation of other races that followed, has created a race problem on a vast scale ought not to blind us to the fact that for over sixteen centuries the Church never took race or colour into account when considering qualifications for membership. This is not to say that we dare pretend that in our day the race problem is other than one of the most serious questions confronting the Church. But just because this problem is so great and so urgent we need to assert emphatically the plain teaching of the Bible that all men are created and sustained by God, for God has "made of one blood all nations of men." For that reason we cannot view racial differences as an instrument for keeping ethnic groups apart, but as a means by which the life of humanity may be enriched. Further, we are bound to draw attention to the fact that human beings suffer and are degraded because of the present conflicts and tensions between various human groups, and that happens not only to those groups which are frustrated or oppressed. Such conflicts do terrible damage to the members of a dominant racial group, warping their humanity and making them the prey to all kinds of fears, some of which are the product of their prejudices, and others which are entirely groundless. Whatever men may do to their fellows in pursuit of some racial ideology which distorts their judgment and obsesses their thoughts, we must

proclaim insistently in the Church that the future does not lie in their hands or ours, but in the hands of Jesus Christ, who is ever remaking men, replacing their fear by trust, and who has the power to do away with injustice and oppression.

Truly that which we proclaim will only be completely manifested and ultimately fulfilled in the age to come, but here and now what we proclaim in word must be made real in the actual life of our Church, if men are ever to see the Church as the "earnest" of what is to be in the heavenly places. In 1948 the Lambeth Conference declared: "The Conference is convinced that discrimination between men on grounds of race alone is inconsistent with the principles of Christ's religion. We urge that in every land men of every race should be encouraged to develop in accordance with their abilities; and that this involves fairness of opportunity in trades and professions, in facilities for travelling and in the provision of housing, in education at all stages, and in schemes of social welfare. Every Churchman should be assured of a cordial welcome in any church of our Communion, and no one should be ineligible for any position in the Church by reason of his race or colour."¹ Since that time this resolution of the bishops has been endorsed by responsible bodies in most of the Churches that make up the Anglican Communion. Yet let us not over-estimate this for in itself it is a small thing. So often our actions in the Church over racial matters speak so loudly that men cannot hear our words. Indeed, we must admit that sometimes we pass resolutions just because we are afraid to be obedient to the demands of God upon us. We take refuge in a mass of words, as a substitute for doing the will of God in this matter. So often it is not that we do not know what God wants us to do in intergroup relations; we lack the courage to do it. The imperative need is that we should begin to live up to the light that God has given us on these matters in His Church.

For this reason may I suggest that it may be that our first duty, personally as members of the Body of Christ and corporately as a Congress of the Church of God, is not to pass any further resolutions on this subject. Rather, our first duty is to repent before God that our actions are so often giving the lie to our words. Repentance, not resolutions: this is our desperate need in the Anglican Church at the present time. Then, and only then, will it be possible for God to set us free from our prejudices and from our blindness, so that we can give our proper witness to the Gospel, challenging whatever in the life of the particular community in which the Church is set is a denial of the possibility of men of any race or colour being saved by the

¹ *The Lambeth Conference 1948* (London: SPCK, 1948), [Part I], p. 36.

Blood of Jesus Christ. This we shall do most effectively by manifesting in the Church a common life of fellowship which transcends all barriers of race and colour. We must refuse to recognize in the Church any discrimination between members of different races for this is the "new race" into which God in His mercy has incorporated us.

But as we saw when speaking of the responsibility of the Church towards family life, so now when we speak of that same responsibility towards the larger family of this or that ethnic group, we cannot confine that responsibility to our practice within the life of the Church. This we cannot do because as churchmen we have also to live in the world, and if our world happens to be a multi-racial society, then we have to try to work out the life we are learning to live in the Church in the life of the community. Here I believe the Church must help its members far more than it is often doing to see what their Christian duty is in the daily contacts which they have with members of other ethnic groups. It is all too easy for Christians to let their conduct towards those of other races conform to that pattern of behaviour which is accepted in the community in which they live. And this help will involve far more than moral exhortation. People need to be much better grounded in the doctrines of Creation, the Incarnation, the Kingdom of God, and the Church than they often are if they are to behave as Christians in their relationships with those of races other than their own.

Yet, important as this is, it does not exhaust the responsibility of the Church in a multi-racial society, especially when one racial group dominates all other ethnic groups in such a community. Then the Church needs to be especially vigilant, without allying itself with any particular political party or faction, constantly urging the leaders of the State to take such action as will safeguard the fundamental rights of personal liberty for all citizens; and to promote such conditions as will encourage the development of personality for all, whatever may be their racial group; and to encourage the free association of individuals in groups for any purpose which is neither vicious nor immoral. This is not to suggest that the life of society in any land can be entirely changed at one fell swoop. In practical affairs that which is desirable has always to be correlated with that which is possible. But it does mean that if for a time certain evils have to be tolerated in society, Christians must recognize them for what they are. That everything cannot be accomplished at once is no excuse for us to sit back and do nothing. Even less is there any justification for our Church being an absentee from contemporary history. Just because as Christians we are faced with heaven and also with this fallen world that we call

history, we dare not shirk our responsibilities in this present situation.

Truly, when we face the intricacies of the problem of intergroup relations, as indeed when we face the perplexities in the much smaller circle of family life, we are confronted today with a most formidable task. But let us go to that task undismayed, conscious that in labouring for healthy family relations and brotherly relations between those of different ethnic groups we are privileged to take part in Christ's own work of reconciliation. It is His work, not our own; the ultimate victory belongs to God and not to us. So let us take courage, looking for that morning of eternity when a great multitude, which no man can number, out of every nation, and all tribes and peoples and tongues shall stand before the throne of God to praise Him who makes all things new.

THE CHURCH AND THE CITIZEN

BY

DR. KATHLEEN BLISS

The Church of England

The subject, or rather subjects, given to me by the Program Committee are the State, International Affairs and National Movements. This intractable trio appears innocently in our programs as "Our Message to the Citizen." I do not want to quarrel with the change of wording, indeed quite the reverse. It is good to take large abstract terms and make them concrete by asking the straight question "What does that mean in terms of people?"

What sort of a world are we citizens living in? One in which in every country the State has enormous and ever-increasing power to affect the lives of its citizens, coming into almost every aspect of their lives, but coming as what? As partner and assistant to the citizen in living his own life, or as menace to his liberty and destroyer of his initiative and self-reliance? Here are problems enough, but when we turn from the relation of states to their own citizens to the relations of states to each other, a far more terrifying prospect opens up. Two great blocs of states, the one driven by a dogmatic ideology to seek world domination and the other, because of what that domination would mean, determined to resist it, face each other—not only on a single front but throughout the world. Each is armed with weapons capable of wiping out millions of lives at a stroke, capable perhaps of

making victory in any ordinary sense of the word, unattainable by either side. These weapons are not in the hands of the scientists whose discoveries made their manufacture possible, nor are they in the hands of military commanders; they are in the control of certain sovereign states, whose governments alone can direct their use. Since the last war, many responsible utterances have been made,¹ and many events have taken place which underline the fact that in our contemporary world political power is supreme over every other form of power.

Our discussion therefore must centre on the question of the State, and move from this centre in two directions—downwards, so to speak, that is in the direction of the member citizens of the State, and outwards towards other sovereign states, nations and dependencies. The orientation of our discussion is that we are looking at these questions not as sociologists or historians or politicians, but as Christians who worship and pray together within one Communion of the Church of God. We belong to a Communion so widespread that it touches many different states, and so variegated that within it we find established Churches closely linked to the State and Churches completely separated from the State; we find also advocates of both positions and opponents of both; we find members of many different political parties who will indeed fight each other at the polls. I believe it is widely held among us Anglicans that it is not the Church's task to mould the political opinions of her members and that it is not the Church's business to act as though she were herself a political party. I think there would also be general agreement among us that it is not one of the proper functions of the Church to tell politicians what they ought to do in concrete situations, though here there may be ground for some disagreement.

A critic might ask whether Churches which have such different ideas and practices about the relation of Church and State and which agree mainly on certain ways of *not* acting politically, *have* any message for the citizen in the modern world. This is a proper question for us to ask of ourselves. That we have no one theory or practice in the relation of Church and State, no single prevailing political theory throughout the Anglican Communion, seems to me to point to possible strength rather than to weakness. It is a fallacy to think of the relation of the Church to the world as a total relation of the whole Church

¹ Such as for example the statements of American military leaders about the supremacy of the political over the military forces of NATO, and the many discussions about the position of scientists which make it clear that though "knowledge is power" is more than ever true, knowledge does not confer power on the knower.

to the whole world; this makes abstractions of them both; as such they can exist only on paper. The relation of the real Church to the real world is much more intimate, much more local and much more various. A solidarity of views throughout the Anglican Communion would surely indicate that we were far too doctrinaire to be effective in all our many different situations. For a Church has first to speak to citizens within its own region, that is, to the people all around it, with their own race, their own geography and history, their given situation which includes not some abstraction called the State, or the State as Christians wish it were, but the actual powers that be.

But what I have just said could be mere parochialism but for another important factor in the relation of the Church and the world, indeed *the* most important fact. Christ is not bound by time and space, He did not die for one region or one community of men, nor did He die for the Church. He died for the world, that is for all men, and not even for penitent men, or men with a sense of their own need, but for men obsessed with power and in flagrant rebellion against God. This means that the Church works in its own place, knowing that that place and all the rest of the world are under the dominion of Christ. "We do not see all things in subjection to Him," says the Apostle; no, we see in our world of today titanic forces of evil at work. "But," he continues, "we see Jesus," and so indeed do we even today. We see the One who died for all men and intercedes for them. It is in this sense that there is a whole total world situation for the Church: it is a Christ-world situation. In it Christ says to every regional Church "*Go into* all the world," the world where He already is, and preach the Gospel which will open the eyes of men to see Him. It is by actually going, in obedience to this call to mission that the Church puts itself where it can engage with the world in some field new to it. I can do no more than hint at the dependence of the Church's action towards the State on its primary responsibility for mission. There is many a modern newly independent state which has learned most of what it knows about caring for the education and health of its citizens from the Christian Church which answered the call to go into all the world. And there are Churches which are beginning to learn something about their own unconscious and sometimes inhibiting relationship to their own nation and state from those to whom they first took the Gospel.

The first task of the Church in relation to the State is then to *be* the Church. It witnesses to the State by being other than the State, and it best helps citizens by not being an organization of citizens as such. When it faithfully pursues its own mission it will find itself carrying the Gospel not only over geographical frontiers but over those fron-

tiers which necessarily separate the Church from the secular organization of society and notably the State. It will declare that the sphere of the State is under the dominion of Christ and summon men to obey Him and bear witness to Him there. It will sustain and nourish them in this labour. But it must continually return to the bases of Christian thinking about the State, and at the same time act; which is the condition of being able to see further.

What then is the starting point of Christian thinking about the State? That the State is necessary and that its primary function is to defend the community from chaos. A few months after the end of the last war with Germany, I stood in the ruins of Essen; there were no buildings or even remains of buildings in this part of the city, only undulating heaps of pulverized rubble. My guide, a Lutheran deaconess working there, said to me, "We are always finding new families living here," and she took me down through holes in the ground into cellars where families were living. The sight was wretched enough, and yet it was not hopeless. The individual was not having to cope with this chaos alone or in fierce competition with his fellows. There were organized food supplies; refuse was being collected; cellars had electric light and some already had heating and cooking facilities; there were no epidemics; children were getting some schooling. Order was once more, and very quickly, re-asserting itself over chaos and the instrument of this order which alone had the power to command both men and materials, was the public authority.

Men of former days who lived on a narrower margin between chaos and order than most of us do, or seem to, were more aware of the necessity and value of this elementary function of the State than we are. To St. Paul it was scarcely a matter to be questioned that one should thank God for the State and pray for those who run it—even the Emperor Nero. But here lies a question which vexes the Christian conscience: is the Christian thankful only for the good State, or for the State as such? It seems that St. Paul enjoined prayer to be made for the State not because he judged the Roman Empire good enough to be prayed for, but simply because it was the State.

If we too accept it as basic that the State as such is part of God's will and ordinance and see "a necessary and wholesome gift of God in this work of man,"² what implications has that for us today? It is the Christians living under totalitarian governments who are at closest grips with a question increasingly important for us all. Professor Karl Barth, who was among the very first theologians to warn Christians,

² See Karl Barth, "The Christian Community in the Midst of Political Change" in *Against the Stream* (London: SCM Press, 1954).

and in the strongest terms, against being deceived by Nazism, has more recently uttered a warning against judging from outside what Christians ought to be doing in a position of infinite complexity. If it does so elementary a thing as provide good roads and efficient traffic regulations, the State is preserving men's lives from destruction by chaos, and this is something that God wills. Christians in such conditions go on paying taxes and conforming in most respects to the laws of the land, and thanking God for anything the State does of good. But they see state policies at work which are destroying men's lives, corrupting youth, and subjecting women to the hideous new tyranny of being compelled to put the State before their own children and families. The Church then takes up the battle for man's life as man. It does this first by being in society the place where men are treated as men, and where men come to know themselves as men in confrontal with God. In taking up the battle for the true life of man, the Church will be led to actions which have political results, but they will be actions proper to the Church and of a piece with its own life. In a collectivist society whose aim is to link each individual directly and solely to the State, and to destroy every intermediate relationship, the Church cannot stand for the unity of the family without performing acts which have a political connotation. So far as we know what is going on, this is a critical issue for the Church in China. In East Germany simply to read out in the church the names of villagers who have disappeared is a political act; in this the Church is speaking for the community against State deportations, and it is the only voice the community has.

But Christians who are not behind the iron curtain also have a battle on man's behalf which has political implications. For example, many millions of people in our world are refugees, most of them from states which have made their lives insupportable. In a notable co-operative effort the Christian Churches have given their help: at first food, clothes and medicines. But it has become clear that there is no future for these people who have no state of which they are fully and effectively citizens with rights and duties. Resettlement becomes the aim. But since every inch of the habitable globe is occupied by some sovereign state, many thousands of Christians as individuals or as congregations have taken up the cudgels with their own governments, working to get changes in the law which would let refugees come in, challenging the policy of some governments to admit only the young and productive, standing as sponserers vis-à-vis their governments and working to change public opinion. Christian Churches are working to re-create citizenship for those who have lost it. I mention this to

show that the Church today is continually brought into political action proper to its nature and dependent on its mission, and into living experience of how pervasive the problem of the State is.

I want now to pass to another basic element in Christian thinking about the State, again very simple in statement. The Christian believes that the State and the power it represents are *permanent* features in human life. Particular states come and go, but sovereignty does not disappear; it re-appears in some new form of state. In communist theory the State is not a permanent feature in human life; it will wither away when world revolution is complete and the classless society emerges. All the problems of the State are therefore for the communist only incidental problems; all the evils of the State only interim evils; all the ruthlessness of the State towards individuals only steps on the road to a glorious future. In contrast with this, the Christian is in deadly earnest about the State. He knows that power is an ineradicable factor in human life and will be so to the end of time. It can never be pinned down and settled once and for all, and it can never be left, by the sanctions of some theory, to take care of itself.

Having stated this as the main Christian position, I have to qualify it. There have been sects of Christians who have believed that it was desirable and possible to create a form of society from which the power of the State was abolished and who have worked for that end. But what affects a far greater number of Christians is a certain nagging doubt about the very nature of power. Is power in itself evil, and if so must its use be regarded as a compromise with necessity, bordering on sin? I have never heard a speech on this point which did not quote the well-known dictum of Lord Acton: "All power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." This was not a thrown-off epigram; out of his vast reading of history Lord Acton believed this. "Suspect power," he said to a group of fellow historians, "more than vice." Acton, speaking always as a Christian, awakens echoes in many Christian hearts. Who can look on the events of the last fifteen years and not ask whether power is not an evil force in the world which the Christian should reduce, confine and abolish if he can? The vocation of the politician comes a long way down the list of vocations through which Christians seek to serve God and their fellows. Why? Is it not because it is often true that to touch politics is to soil one's hands, and is it not from power, from not only wielding it but seeking it, that the corruption comes?

The relation of power and love raises some of the most searching of questions, philosophical and practical, and we are not going to answer them in this Congress or to get more than glimpses of answers

if we give our lives to them. But we can at least make a beginning by asking what sort of conception of love and of power prevails today among those who are concerned about their relationship, Christians not least. "Love and power are often contrasted in such a way that love is identified with a resignation of power, and power with a denial of love. Powerless love and loveless power are contrasted."³ Love is identified with sentiment, emotion or feeling, and power with compulsion or force. Paul Tillich relates both power and love to the same source, in life itself. To be without power at all is for a being or a state to go out of existence; to be without love is to be isolated from everything else living, for love is the drive towards unity; but they need each other. What is the love of parents for their child if the parents have no power, if they cannot on occasion compel the child or forcibly restrain it? What is the use, to poor citizens, of well-intentioned schemes of social betterment if the State cannot compel the rich to pay their taxes? If there is no power, there is no State. To fall back from the terribly difficult problem how to avoid the abuse of power, how to control the compellers, on to the simplification of saying that power itself, being contrary to love, must be suspect with Christians, is to falsify and distort the real political problem: how is the State to have enough power to be effective and to survive as the State, and how is that necessary power of the State to be kept from abuse?

When the people of Israel asked Samuel for a king, he warned them that kings will act as kings and use the power of their position. But the question was not left there. The Old Testament is full of struggles and dramatic encounters about the limiting and restraint of power and the uses to which it may rightly be put—Saul and Samuel, David and Nathan, Ahab and Elijah. Through centuries of European history the Church kept this question alive, alive in political and legal theory, alive in action. Admit all the power drives of medieval ecclesiastics, the prince bishops, the cardinal statesmen, the temporal powers of the papacy itself, yet the fact remains of a continual struggle to bring power into relation with justice and even with mercy. It was much more than an attempt to get individuals in high positions to behave well; it was an attempt to develop institutions and practices which would limit the abuse of power. Compare this with the East, with Hindu India and Buddhist Japan, and with the Mohammedan lands of the Near East. There the typical figures are the absolute monarch—absolute whether as law-giver or as tyrant—and the holy man, the

³ Paul Tillich, *Love, Power, and Justice* (London: Oxford, 1954), p. 11.

sadhu, hermit or monk. The one embraces power wholly; the other renounces power wholly. None of these countries evolved political institutions capable of replacing absolute monarchy; they borrowed them from the West.

This long engagement of Christianity with the stuff of politics ought to give us heart. The men who struggled to create the institutions which we inherit did not work in times of calm and peace alone; indeed, the most important of our political institutions had their origin in periods of conflict, among men who were grappling with problems which threatened to overwhelm them, many of whom might worthily share the epitaph on the tomb of Sir Robert Shirley "whose singular praise it is to have done the best things in the worst times, and hoped them in the most calamitous."

We have an encouragement from the past, and a still living tradition, but many of our problems are new and the climate of ideas is also new. One of the characteristic medieval ideas was that power could best be handled in the community by a balancing of institutions which divided power between them. The two chief of these institutions were the Church and the State; men spoke of the two swords in Europe, the temporal and spiritual power, each given by God. The rise of sovereign nation states and the disruption of the Church at the Reformation put an end to what was already falling into decay. Nobody can speak now of Church and State as two swords, but the underlying question of the two loyalties, God and Caesar, remains unchanged.⁴

The key political idea of our own time, to which as Christians we have to address ourselves, is that sovereignty derives from the will of the people. I want to mention two factors only, in the present situation, and to say something about each: one is the enormous growth of citizenship in the world; the other, the direction in which the will of the people is carrying the State.

Less than a hundred years ago citizenship still was what it had been in the days of St. Paul, the privilege of a minority. From being that it has suddenly developed into being the responsibility of all adults of both sexes in nearly every country of the world. I think it is significant that you are being addressed on this subject by a woman, one of the new citizens. What does citizenship do to people? It is an exciting thing to watch, as I did in India, a newly enfranchised people, or part of a people, going through their first election. It is a power-

⁴ Anson Phelps Stokes in his notable work on Church and State in the United States says that the starting place of Christian concern about the State is in the command of Our Lord to render to Caesar and to God their due.

ful means of political education; people may not have understood very much, but they have acted, and that counts. But what counts much more is that the vote is in the community what the latch key is in the family—a sign of being grown up, and, more than that, of being accepted as grown up. Over vast areas of the world men, and women too, are very suddenly coming to this adulthood, but they are not stopping at this symbol, they are pressing on to the full consequences, that is, to taking the destinies of their nation on their own shoulders. Two years ago I heard Pundit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, answering the question whether he thought that the big changes going on in Asia were really understood in the West. He replied that he thought the West, or the informed minority there, had a very good understanding of the economic, social and political changes in Asia, but he found no awareness of the greatest change of all, which was going on in the hearts of men. "Millions of people all over Asia," he said, "are saying 'the things we have suffered and endured for centuries we will suffer and endure no longer'; this is not a material but a spiritual change and I do not think the West understands either its nature or its extent." Quite apart from what the Communists have done in China, the face of all the rest of Asia has been changed by the passion of nationalism, which has in it also a strong moral strain, in the desire for a more just order of society. New states and governments have been created, ancient religions and cultures long overlaid by Western influences are reviving and at the same time an Asian sentiment is developing among peoples who for centuries have had more to do with the British, the Dutch or the Americans than with each other. Asia has turned the white man out of the place of dominating influence, not by military power but by the power of passion.

Now the moderating force on nationalism is citizenship with its responsibilities and its educative influence. Citizenship turns men's minds from the hatred of their enemies or dominators to the real concern of government, which is to govern; from the desire for freedom to the content of freedom, from dreams to reality. Politicians whose duties have been for years to address mass meetings and disrupt the course of government now have to act responsibly towards a citizenry which, as Pundit Nehru pointed out, is growing more and more convinced that the ancient scourges of the East, poverty, disease and ignorance, are not inevitable.

As I read the history of the Church of England I reflect that Anglicanism also came to birth in days of violent national feeling and went with a nation through the throes of change and growth. Churches in the countries of the East and Africa set out on the same perilous

course, but as so small an ark of God on so vast a flowing tide. Did we do what we could, indeed are we doing what we can, to help the Churches in their task? Many Christians in the East feel that the life of the Church has been severed from the traditional life and culture of the people with such severity that tremendous efforts have to be made for them to get into the heart of the life of their nation—and still remain true members of the Church. Did those of us who served the Church in the East ever give a thought to the teaching of political responsibility or the relation of the Church to national movements? Can we understand the factors which lead Christians to work for a secular and not a religious State? The Church as a universal and supra-national community is under great strain in many parts of the world. The price for having Western associations is high; all that Christians of the West can show of understanding and any help they can give is a small enough acknowledgement of the faithful witness of so many non-white Christians to the true and universal character of the Church.

The other thing which I said I would take up, though all too briefly, is the growth of the idea that the function of government is to give expression to the will of the people. Stated like that, it is open to grave objection. The people, which in practice works out as for most of the time the majority, can be as tyrannous and self-seeking as the individual. The big question raised is whether there is any limiting factor on what the people will, any authority which the will of the people recognises and obeys. It has been one of the greatest functions of religion in the life of the State continually to recall men's minds to the sovereignty of God. Very often this was done without in effect restraining the powerful; many a king made of the doctrine of his responsibility to God a doctrine of his lack of responsibility to anybody else. Far more enduring and fruitful has been the conception of a law of nature or of God woven, so to speak, into the fabric of the world and recognisable by men as something in themselves at war with their own mere inclination or wilfulness. This idea did not originate among Christians but probably among the Greeks; but Christians were certainly the great users and teachers of the doctrine, especially in relation to law-making, the obedience of subjects to the law, and the administration of justice.

The great danger we are in is that for vast numbers of people in the West, God is either forgotten or unbelievable; certainly He is not a compelling factor in everyday public life. What then lies between us and the mere assertion of will as the ultimate authority in all public affairs? It is useless for the Church to state eternal truths in the

way that was relevant to the political situation of a hundred or five hundred years ago. We must do what our forefathers did and help men to see how and why certain unchanging truths apply to their own situation. I do not want to go into philosophical or political theories about the will of the people; I only want to ask what the people in our day want of the State. Everywhere the old idea of the State as a policeman in society is giving way to the idea that the State ought to take positive action in society for the well-being of its citizens. There is no nation so new or so poor that it does not expect of its government education and care for health, justice not only between man and man but in the structure of society itself. The great demand is that the State shall be *humane*.

Let us not be so busy deploring some of the results of this demand of the people on their governments as to overlook its importance as such. I know the history of my own country best; let me ask you to look at the relation of the State and its citizens in the early years of the last century. In 1824 there were one hundred and sixty offences for which the legal penalty was death. Men were recruited for the navy by the kidnapping methods of the pressgang, and discipline was, on the word of an admiral, maintained by cruelty. In 1819 in Manchester the magistrates ordered the cavalry to charge upon a crowd of unarmed men, women and children, using their swords. Meetings of labourers for political and even for educational purposes were forbidden by law and punished with ruthlessness. Naked women pulled trucks through the coal mines and children worked for fifteen hours a day in the factories. Prisons were farmed out to unpaid gaolers who made their living by extortion and unchecked brutality. Lone voices which asked for the State to control or prevent such horrors were howled down by the indignant and privileged minority who were the citizenry of the day. To a minority the State was an instrument of wealth and power; to the great majority it was an object of fear. The transformation wrought by humane and determined men, many of them Christians, in the relation of State and citizen and in the views held about what the State is for, if it could have been predicted, would not have been believed. The great achievement of Christianity in politics in the last hundred years has been to make the State the agency of humane purposes. This achievement has, in turn, opened the door for an increasing co-operation of states in projects to relieve poverty, prevent disease, and dispel ignorance.

But this great achievement is gravely threatened from within. To have a high and rising standard of living is rapidly becoming the main social objective of the Western world. Inevitably society begins

to be seen as a complex organisation for the production of more and more goods, and the State is drawn into helping to make it so because the State itself, with its immense armament programs, has become in recent years the greatest single consumer of the products of industry. I do not mean by what I have said that the poor and unproductive society is likely to be more just and humane than the highly productive one—far from it. There is no hope of lifting the burden of poverty, ignorance and disease which today cripple millions of lives, without a vast increase of material goods. But these goods which can be the instrument of noble purposes do not themselves create those purposes.

A troubled awareness is coming over many people that the high and rising standard of living is not enough to live for. It is not enough for individuals, for it leaves the hidden longing for satisfaction in personal and social relationships unfulfilled. It is not enough for the State, for the decay of the capacity for personal and social living leads to the decay of politics also; for politics is not a form of technology, but a form of encounter between men and men. It is also becoming a question whether the aim of productivity, if it usurps first place among the aims of a state, can give a society that unity and strength of purpose without which it may decay. We are therefore being driven back again to asking what are the inescapable conditions of man's political life. It is no longer a question, as it was for so many centuries, of controlling the power of the few over against the helplessness of the many; it is a question of the wills and purposes of the whole citizenry, of the desires of ordinary men and women which shape society and press upon the State—these are the new power. Church and Nation thus becomes as important a relationship as Church and State, and it is not to kings and potentates but to ordinary men and women and the representatives they elect that the Church must speak of the sovereignty of God and its restraint, the only ultimate restraint, upon the people's will. We cannot with impunity say, "What the people want is right." It is not therefore a mere matter of taste or calculated benefit, whether a nation seeks power and possessions, prodigally spending the irreplaceable resources of the earth, and rousing envy and hatred among poorer nations, and justifying itself on the grounds that this is what the people want; or whether a nation pursues the far more difficult and costly road of responsible partnership in a community of nations. It is the message of the Church to the citizen that those who seek the costly road are responding to forces of goodness and love, mercy and truth, which man did not make and which he can never destroy. It is the message of the Church that those who seek domination and power or self-enclosed prosperity and a security which takes

no risks, are pitting themselves against the immutable laws of God and working their own downfall.

The whole human situation is overshadowed by the peril of war, war which could destroy peoples and cities and plunge whole communities into destitution, war which could wipe out all men's struggles to bend the State to humane purposes and turn the State once again into the wild tiger fighting for its life and flinging off every restraint in the naked struggle to survive. Our greatest present enemy is fear, fear which releases itself in impulsive action or in apathy and despair. I once watched an encounter between a bird and a snake. Paralyzed by fear, the bird stood motionless, its eye fixed upon the enemy whose intentions it knew only too well. I made some slight movement and the bird remembered that it had wings and was gone. It did not belong only in the world of the snake, and our world is not only a world of evils which threaten to engulf mankind: it is upheld and interpenetrated by the inexhaustible love and power of God. It is eternally true not solely in the inner life of the individual soul but in the conflict and stress of political life that "they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint."

The BISHOP OF NEW YORK (the Rt. Rev. Horace W. B. Donegan) acted as Moderator for the general discussion session on Wednesday, August 11, devoted to Topic III: *Our Message*. The statement drafted after the group meetings was read to the Congress by MISS M. D. MacARTHUR (India), Secretary of Group 6, and the BISHOP OF MISSOURI (the Rt. Rev. Arthur C. Lichtenberger), Chairman of Group 19, the BISHOP OF OTTAWA (the Rt. Rev. Ernest S. Reed), Secretary of Group 4, and the BISHOP OF MOMBASA (the Rt. Rev. Leonard J. Beecher), Secretary of Group 15, each spoke briefly to points in the report, opening the discussion. As various aspects of this topic aroused wide interest and concern among the delegates, a large number of comments and suggestions were offered to guide the Editorial Committee in redrafting the statement. Following the practice of previous discussion sessions, the Congress voted acceptance of the statement subject to confirmation when a revised form should be submitted at the closing session.

On the evening of the same day the Congress turned its attention to its last topic: *Our Work*. After opening the session with prayer at 8:00 P.M., the PRESIDING OFFICER introduced in turn the three speakers: MR. CHARLES P. TAFT of the Diocese of Southern Ohio, the BISHOP OF LIBERIA (the Rt. Rev. Bravid W. Harris), and the BISHOP OF SHEFFIELD (the Rt. Rev. Leslie S. Hunter).

OUR WORK

THE TASK OF THE LAITY

BY

CHARLES P. TAFT

Diocese of Southern Ohio

One of the reports at the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches six years ago remarked that the laity was ninety-nine per cent of the Church. Do we really believe that or not? It does not show up that way in our own triennial General Convention in this country, or in our National Council or in any of our diocesan conventions.

In the Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam, with 350 delegates there, there were some twenty-three laymen, I think. It is always a question as to whether you count as laymen the wives of the clergy, or whether you count as laymen housewives. That, I think, you must answer in the affirmative. At Amsterdam, with 125 present on a discussion of social questions, we discovered there were no persons in the group who had had any experience in production in industry or agriculture, either as employer or as employee. That is really shocking; but you can understand why, since the smaller Churches send only one or two delegates and they must send the clergy.

Yet when laymen are wanted for tasks of interchurch co-operation in this country the problem is usually, and certainly very often, to avoid over-weighting with Episcopalians. So we are not quite so bad in the United States after all, relatively speaking.

But none of the Churches, I think, assesses adequately the character of its constituency. Let me describe my own, a downtown church of twenty-four hundred members, and you will see what I mean.

There is the congregation that comes regularly every Sunday morning, and those who appear irregularly on Sunday, or as visitors in town. Perhaps they have come from three hundred miles away to see the Reds and the Bums play baseball that afternoon and go to church in the morning. There may be quite a large additional congregation that comes at five in the afternoon for our great series of musical serv-

ices in winter. Many of the regular morning attendants may take no part in the church family. My wife and I find ourselves in the situation of saying, "We are glad to see you here this morning," and find they have been members of the church for twenty years. That is a little startling; but when you have that experience it is because they are not active in the parish activities. They just come to church. A few come to regular communion services in the week. Many from other parishes and other Communion services come to our Lenten noonday services. Thirty-five hundred come on Good Friday from the same groups. Some members come on Easter only. Some members contribute and never come, or come only when they feel like it. Some show up to get their children christened, or to get married, or to get buried.

There are the rector and his assistants, and the staff who cover preaching, administration of the Sacraments, pastoral care, supervision and participation in Christian education, guidance of financial matters, provision of music, housekeeping. Lay helpers come in there, the chancel guild, the vestry, a junior vestry, a parish council. Then comes the Woman's Auxiliary with all its service projects, the men's club, the special committees. The members of each of these, from the rector down, have wives, husbands or children whose activity in the church family may be equal or may be "restrained." Then add the teachers and the leaders in the church school, the children, the boys' clubs, and girls' clubs. Add finally the individuals and families who live nearby—this is a downtown church—or who are passing by. Many of these are not members, and many more, related to those who are helped or participating, may have no connection. And do not forget the membership rolls. There are names there that do not come in any of the categories mentioned. Who are the "laity"? Who are the "members"? What is the church anyway? How many of this whole bunch really have a reasoned faith which they could explain about their relation to God and Christ, or to evil in the world? And finally, outside of all of us, how many of the leaders of business, professions, or government in town (meaning, say, the top three and on down to the tenth in each separate organization) really participate in any of this in this church or any other? Why are there so many more women than men in church Sunday? Why don't the men come? This is my text for this evening, if I have any.

Let me suggest one reason among many. The men have many problems that keep them awake after 5:00 A.M., or late at night. These problems have to do among other things with their secular occupations. They have not found (and, to be fair, I would have to add, they

have not sought) anything in the church services or the church family that really helps them at this point.

So here is the mystery, or should I say the puzzle within the enigma. What is and should be the relation of the Church, whatever you mean by it, to the secular activities and troubles of its members and fringe associates and people outside? What is the role of the lay people themselves in this work? How do we make it a witness to our common faith? This is not a new question. It has been posed insistently by J. H. Oldham for most of his life, I suppose, and particularly when he wrote before the First Assembly of the World Council at Amsterdam on "The Function of the Church in Society." I am sure you and he will forgive me if I paraphrase some of his thinking.

We Anglicans are close to the Roman tradition that makes the Church responsible for the world. But in times like these we are pressed by two traditions of the Reformation. For the Lutherans this is a world inevitably evil in which our merits avail nothing and justification comes only by faith. This has a by-product which is familiar to us in the United States. Many American Christians have no interest in the problems of religion in relation to secular work. They are not interested in man as a worker; they are interested in him only as he has an immortal soul to be saved.

From this Lutheran view grows much of a current controversy in this country about the job of the Church. Materials and pronouncements about life in secular realms such as economics, politics, and social relationships are denounced by one group as not the function of the corporate Church. That function is described as only world-wide missions, personal evangelism, Christian education, humanitarian service, and Christian fellowship. As Dr. Oldham put it, this "is an individualistic type of Christianity which regards the gospel as having to do only with the salvation of individual souls and looks on church participation in the affairs of the world as irrelevant or questionable."

This individualist position is held often by persons who are also conservative in economics and government. This group is especially offended by what they would call carping, which is emphasized in the Calvinist tradition: the view that God is the ruler whose ideal is perfection, and who requires us to look critically on every human system and every human organization. None can be wholly Christian, and God will be fighting evil on earth to the end of time.

Both Lutheran and Calvinist are wrong, it seems to me, and I hope I am expressing not only an American viewpoint, but an Anglican one when I offer something broader. The extreme of the Lutheran position lost its strength when it failed to stand up to Hitler at the beginning

of the Nazi experience. No longer will they assert that the Church must take what the powers that be give it. When politics reach the moral and ethical the Church often must speak. It always has, and it has spoken through its authorized leaders, without a referendum to every member, although the members may dissent. A member joining or born into it takes that with the association, whether he knows it or not.

Now the Calvinist, on the other hand, is ignoring truth if he refuses to make comparative judgments and puts himself in the class with those who fifteen years ago claimed to see no difference between the British Empire and the Nazi terror. Certainly we cannot say, with some of the critical American group that I have just mentioned, that our system of economics or government is the only Christian one. But if it is better in our opinion, or at least more nearly Christian than any we have had before, the urge to Christ's perfection ought not to keep us from honest enthusiastic credit, or to force us into the position of whining dissatisfaction with everything that is.

God is also Creator and made the world. He is continuous process and infinite energy. There is a vast sweep of cosmic development which is now observed by these finite minds of ours, as radio astronomy maps the Milky Way and shows us the kind of whirling disc-nebula that it is, and locates where our little solar system is spotted somewhere between the center and the periphery. We look at those two extraordinary miracles of God, the first creation of life, and the first creation of human consciousness, not a whit less extraordinary than the Incarnation and the revelation of the personal relationship to God. So the earth becomes a dear and human and divine earth, of entrancing beauty and wonder in nature, where one finds the increasing and absorbing activity of man, and religion to redeem and direct and fertilize it. The Kingdom of God is no human enterprise, but surely we can claim that He acts only through us, failing as we fail, and, in spite of our failures, still the inspiration of the whole course of history.

Now, this view has its dangers, for it does relax somewhat the healthy tension in our lives between good and evil, sin and Christ, which are the sure product of the Lutheran and Calvinist traditions. But even they have some of the same danger, as Dr. Temple once remarked about Reinhold Niebuhr's neo-orthodoxy on this point.

I have left far behind the varied constituency of my parish or of yours, but now I am back to it. If my general statement of the job of the Church in relation to the world is right—that it is to redeem and direct and fertilize it—how does it do it, and is it doing it? Here we

face the puzzle in the enigma. It must be doing better. In 1796 only ten per cent of our American people were church members in the first church census, and 160 years later nearly fifty-nine per cent belong. A Gallup poll in July shows eighty-two per cent who call themselves "members of a religion." But I suppose they do not come to church, especially the men, and more especially the leaders. One reason, I would submit, is that the leaders of the Church do not know enough about the areas of life where people work. A second reason is that the preachers and the theologians behind them, along with church workers with them in circles where the Christian tradition holds, as Dr. Oldham puts it, "have often little idea how completely unintelligible what is said in the pulpit is to large classes . . . unintelligible in that it makes no effective contact with their experience."

This situation is not met, I submit, by pronouncements having no foundation of informed discussion by representative groups. That kind of outburst, or after-thought resolution, has little educational value in my book. For seven years our National Council of Churches in the United States and its predecessor, the Federal Council, has in the controversial area of economic life insisted on no statement unless it is the product of unhurried face-to-face discussion (even if it takes several years) between theologians, economists, employers and employees, professional men and women, pastors and denominational executives. The points at which we are aiming are the personal relationships and the decisions which affect people where they work. We are trying to promote the Christian understanding of life and its goals in secular activities on weekdays.

But this Christian understanding of life is not fully thought out on the Church side—not in the context of secular occupations. I went to a vocational conference in one of our dioceses in the United States with representatives from some seventy-five parishes. The ten groups into which this conference was divided by vocations talked ethics and morals, but was this discussion Christian in any distinctive way? There is so very little material, and it is such a tough job to think! We do not do it often—not the laymen.

How interested are bishops and rectors? Mildly so. Our whole church tradition in all denominations measures churchmanship by going to church, attending suppers, serving on boards, raising money, teaching in church school, perhaps participating in membership drives, which are described as personal evangelism. Obviously, I am in favor of all those activities that I have named. But what are we of the laity or any other part of the Church doing about spreading the corporate Church, through its members, to the limit of the community from

Monday to Saturday in the decisions that they make and in their relations to the persons they meet?

Once you leave the walls of the church, the secular world presses on you. The most distinctive characteristic of us in the United States is the organizational revolution of the last seventy-five or eighty years. Everyone belongs to one or more pressure groups, if only the pressure of the neighbors to keep up with the Joneses. Farm, labor, trade association, bridge club, lodge, political party, improvement association—every one tends with us increasingly to take the absolute position on matters large or small, and to compel conformity. The conflicts, economic and social, could tear us apart unless the Churches help to build the moral independence and responsibility of their members in these groups. But to do that they must understand the groups and what motivates them; but surely that does not mean the uncritical acceptance of their absolutism. I have seen proposals made, in the effort to bring the Church back to working people, for a priesthood among working people that apparently is supposed to accept and support a strike just because it was voted, and because it was among working people. Probably such a priest must not urge strike-breaking, "scabbing," but surely he must, within the organization, say a position is wrong if that is what he thinks. The same goes for employer associations, or dairymen, or women's clubs.

So the Church finds itself up against a situation in which there must be compromise of the absolute position. Many of its spokesmen have enthusiastically damned compromise. Of course the difference between Anglo-Saxon democratic processes and the revolutions of some of our American republics is in our readiness to accept a majority vote against us and work for a change at the next election. That is compromise. Compromise can be in part from a humility that recognizes the faint possibility that the other fellow may be partly right. There is solid Christian thinking about compromise, but it is not readily available to laymen. Our Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches has a first draft of a fine statement on it. But the trouble is that the paper is by a theologian who dislikes four-letter words if he can use ten-letter ones, and it will have to be translated into words that a layman can understand.

Are the Anglican Churches doing much about this? No. Are the Anglican laymen as churchmen doing much? No. I am afraid that we have not heard adequately Dr. Oldham's voice or that of his *Christian Frontier*. Yet I am convinced that the suggestion often made, most recently in the preparatory document for Section 6, "On the Laity,"

at the World Council Assembly next week, for a new form of Christian organization, cells, Christian cells where you work, is all wrong. The Church as a community in the world on weekdays has to find its unity and power in worship and preaching on Sunday. It is not a new form of organization that is needed or that is likely to come and to succeed. What then is the answer?

First must come sound interchange and discussion that produces good material. In the Federal and National Council of Churches' studies in this field, this has gone on for seven years, and at the Ecumenical Institute of the World Council at Bossey for longer and with even more effect. The laymen's departments of the denominations, including our own, have contributed little here. But this must reach the local parish and congregation, and there are few with the variety of experience, or with members who have a common vocation, to make study and action effective. That means the process has to be in ecumenical co-operation to be effective, and the contributions of other Christians will surely bring some grains of truth that can help to free even us Anglicans, and make our Christianity more effective in the secular community.

One curious demand of laymen who have participated in this process is that there be provided in this kind of discussion of Christian objectives in a vocational setting, the participation of theologians. I always insist on it myself, and the experience of Bossey and other European centers confirms it. The laymen make this demand, and they can learn the theological lingo much as business men are eager to learn the lingo of the economists, because the theologians come closer to answering the deep need of the laity for help in knowing how to seek Christian objectives, and how to discover God's will in terribly conflicting situations where things are not absolutely white or black.

The community leaders who do not go to church are not anxious, I am afraid, to be converted. Most of them are not particularly conscious of sin, which they will not think to interpret as they grow older as related to the frustration and doubt, perhaps dissatisfaction, with the life they know. They certainly do not know what are the resources of the Bible and the Church to meet that problem. But does the Church know, or at least have available, those resources either? Surely this is part of our Anglican mission, in the context of God's world of joy and of beauty. We have more laity who are able to appreciate and participate in this task than most Communion. I hope that they and the Church of which they are ninety-nine per cent do something about it.

THE MISSIONARY TASK

BY

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Under the topic *Our Work* my particular assignment is to deal with the missionary task confronting the Anglican Communion. It seems to me that rather than undertake a review of our witness in various parts of the world, all of which is familiar to most of us, or a study of the peculiar problems we face within our common household, we might more profitably concentrate upon the basic principles involved in our overall program of world missions, with special emphasis upon the message, the changing world scene, and finally, the implementation of our message in the light of present world conditions.

Considering our resources both in personnel and finance, our contribution in the field of missionary endeavor has been one of which we need not be ashamed; and yet, because of our position, we have an added responsibility in this new day to make a significant contribution and especially in the broader field of social reconstruction.

THE MESSAGE

Our missionary task grows out of the nature of the character of God Himself. God is our Creator and He is love. He not only created the earth and all things therein, but in the process He created man in His own image and likeness and gave him dominion over all the earth. He has called man alone, out of His love, freely to obey His will and execute His purpose, and realize His perfection by the surrender of himself to the Divine will.

In the nature of the case, God works in history and through the particular. He, therefore, chose to work out His purpose for humanity through Israel beginning with Abraham: "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." And he sealed His promise with a covenant.

Without tracing the history of God's revelation, may we simply say that the high water mark of Old Testament revelation was reached in the amazing contribution of the prophets, Amos and Isaiah in particular—that God is a God of righteousness and as such as universal as righteousness itself. His role is universal and His interest universal, but He would still work out His purpose through His people Israel.

Later on in post-Exilic Isaiah, we have the further note that God is not only the only God whom Israel may worship and serve; He is the only God there is. He orders, directs, and controls the affairs of men. Israel is His servant for the enlightenment of all nations, through whom He would make Himself known to all peoples of the whole earth. Through the prophets as His mediators, God seeks to reveal His will to His people, and embrace, as His instrument, the whole of humanity within that will and purpose. But the history of religion is one of failure on the part of His people both to see, as well as to obey.

In the Incarnation God's full revelation in the drama of redemption is vouchsafed to men in the Son, again out of His love for us. "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." It is in the Son that we see the true nature of God and our true humanity in all its fulness. But God will not coerce us; we appropriate His gift through faith, so that "as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name." Again, there is the possibility of sin, disobedience, and rebellion.

It is not only Jesus in the flesh, identified with our humanity in all its weakness, but His sinless life, His passion, death, and resurrection—these mighty acts constitute the Good News that turned the world upside down in the days of the Apostles. It is through His victory that He became the Living Lord, and through the gift of the Holy Spirit that He molded the small band of Apostles and disciples into the new fellowship, His Living Body. The presence of the Living Lord, "Lo, I am with you always," and the life-giving power of the Holy Spirit are the very life-blood of the fellowship which is called to transform the world. We are indebted to Canon Quick, who in a most significant work, *The Gospel of the New World*, places us on solid ground when he observes, "On the one hand the Church lives in the power of Christ's risen and new-created manhood to make the whole life of this world fit to be offered and sacrificed to God. It has to do this by penetrating and transforming the world, and especially every human activity within it, with the spirit of *agape*, so that in everything may be found the very expression of the Creator's mind and will. In proportion as it succeeds in this aspect of its task, the Church shows itself to be in this world the true herald and harbinger of the world to come."¹

This is the Gospel we are called upon to preach, and to teach, and to communicate, "for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved" except Jesus Christ. I em-

¹ Oliver Chase Quick, *The Gospel of the New World* (London: Nisbet, 1944), p. 105.

phasize this because far too often we have presented selected phases of the Gospel as the heart of the Gospel of Christ. Even our conception of the Church as the very pillar and ground of the faith is sometimes dressed in a garb which bears little relevance to the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the Apostles understood and preached it. As Paul put it, "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." That is strong language and language which we can heed with profit.

THE CHANGING WORLD SCENE

To say that the Church faces a revolutionary situation in the world today is to say the obvious. Revolutionary forces are at work, arising chiefly out of two world wars and the advances of modern science which have made necessary a re-evaluation of the Church's missionary obligation and task. The whole of Eastern Europe has been, for all practical purposes, withdrawn from the orbit of the Church's influence and power; the whole of China, with its four hundred millions, has been closed as a missionary opportunity and the Church's influence and witness neutralized. We have never been a determining factor in the Islamic world which is on the ascendency from North Africa, through the Middle East down into Southeast Asia. Another significant factor is the revival of the strictly non-Christian religions of Hinduism and Buddhism in Southeast Asia. It is abundantly clear everywhere that the opportunities for the expansion of the Christian message are being severely restricted, especially in those parts of the world with heavy concentrations of underdeveloped peoples.

Nationalism is emerging among large segments of the world population and on the part of peoples who for centuries have been the subjects of various forms of colonial rule and unused to the problems of free government. Indeed, within the past ten years we have seen India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, the Philippines, Korea, Libya, and Indonesia come to complete independence. The struggle is still in progress in North, West, and East Africa, and in parts of Asia. Christian forces are in the minority; non-Christian religions are in the ascendency. While political independence is the answer to one of man's major aspirations, the answer to his economic and social freedom is yet to be found.

One of the most alarming spectacles is the fact that three-fifths of the human race are living below the level of normal subsistence standards, and classed as what we have come to call "underprivileged," depressed both socially and economically. This, however, is a

serious understatement. The common fact about Asia is its unspeakable misery, its poverty, famines, disease, and illiteracy. For the most part it is in the grip of ruthless agricultural and feudal landlords. In the Middle East, the basic situation is the same except that the presence of oil opens up new possibilities, and in many respects the depressed conditions of the masses is quite unnecessary. Africa south of the Sahara presents a picture where its raw materials are foreign controlled, where low wage scales predominate, and where the production of basic foods is still on a primitive basis. While South America shows many advances, yet the masses of people still belong to the army of the "have nots." It is in the light of these general conditions that the forces of Communism have struck and are still striking their most telling blow. It can hardly be denied that one of our greatest weaknesses rests in the fact that we have failed to demonstrate the relevance of the Gospel of Christ to the basic economic problems confronting the great masses of God's children in the underdeveloped areas in the world.

Whatever we may think or say about Communism, the fact remains that it has succeeded in attracting millions of people in various parts of the world, and especially those areas with large concentrations of poverty stricken people, and extended its sway over millions of others by ruthless force. It is very long on promises, giving the impression of unlimited successes at the home base. It promises a new order of society, a classless society, and in the end a free society, which once attained will see the coercive power of the State wither away. In the meantime capitalism, the root of all evil and the enemy of freedom, must be destroyed. Both the State and the dictatorship are transitory. Two basic principles are: (1) the destruction of private property and profit; and (2) in production each contributes according to his ability, but reaps, not in proportion to his contribution, but according to his needs. Admittedly, these ends are not yet realized in its present state, but I am talking about ideals of Communism. In the end it promises the realization of a society in which all forms of imperialism, exploitation, oppression, and discrimination between races and classes will be abolished.

Its interpretation of history is materialistic in the sense that the ownership of property and the production of wealth are determining factors. For the Kingdom of God, the perfect classless society is substituted and men are committed to this faith. True, they have a totalitarian system which directs and controls its devotees politically, economically, socially, and in every phase of their common life, but this they hold to be transitory. Communism has demonstrated its

ability to inspire men to absolute devotion and in this sense it is a religion. It is admittedly godless; religion is the opiate of the people, but because it admits no God it has no transcendent judgment upon its social order and no freedom and justice except its own.

No one supposes that the Christian forces can assume successfully in their own right the full responsibility for the solution of such problems of world-wide proportions. But this is not to excuse us from assuming the burden as our own and demonstrating the relevance of the Gospel of Christ to the major problems confronting mankind, whatever they are and wherever they are found, especially in those areas of the world where we have been called to carry our message of redemption. And we have not always done just this.

One thing is certain: we are engaged in a life and death struggle for the souls of men, and it will not be won by dependence upon military or even economic solutions alone. Above all, we are called to give men a faith which gives meaning to their lives, enables them to realize their true dignity as sons of God, and live their lives in peace and harmony with their fellow men.

OUR TASK

We turn now to our particular obligation and task as presented by present world conditions. It was the theme of the New Testament Apostles and Evangelists that with the death and resurrection of Jesus and the coming of the Holy Spirit the new age had come. Christians were sharers in the new life—"If any man be in Christ he is a new creature." The Kingdom of Christ was not something to come; it has already come. The Church was alongside the Kingdom of Christ and its highest calling was ultimately that of bringing in the Kingdom of God. Love is the power and the spirit which is to permeate and spiritualize every corner of human activity, inward as well as outward, secular as well as religious. We are to reflect God's love and care as well as His concern, not only for the redemption of each individual soul both for this life and for that which is to come, but also for the redemption of the whole of our common life and thus the Christianization of human society itself.

I take it that this is something of the meaning of the "Years of Grace." During the interim and before the final coming of Christ, human life and society will be more and more conformed to the mind of Christ. "The good news must first be preached to all nations"; or again in Matthew: "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations . . . Ye shall be my witnesses . . . unto the uttermost parts of the earth." As Bishop

Newbigin has reminded us, "What has been done for the whole world must be made known to the whole world, so that the whole world may be brought under obedience to the Gospel, and may be healed in the salvation which God had wrought for it."

Such is the basis of the Church's call and commission. Its missionary obligation is not one which we assume or ignore as we will. It is inherent in the very nature of its call. When it fails here it forfeits its right to be called the Church of the Living Christ. But in undertaking its obligation, I would remind you, one of its major responsibilities is that of constituting itself a redeemed fellowship, reconciled to God in Christ through the Spirit and then propagating the Gospel of Christ in all its fullness wherein "is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

Our first responsibility is that of personal evangelism. In this connection we must ever be mindful of the fact that we are sent to peoples of varying cultures and religious experiences. Our task is that of winning men to a vital relationship to the living Christ in whom is their redemption from sin and self-centeredness, and calling them to the new life as it is in Christ Jesus. He is the center of our message in all His fullness; we must win men to Him one by one. And what is more, we must take men where we find them, whether the animist, the Hindu, the Moslem, or the Buddhist, remembering that we are the mediators of the Incarnate Christ. As Nietzsche has laid down the challenge: "These Christians must show me they are redeemed, before I will believe in their Redeemer." And here we can take to heart the penetrating observation of Dr. Mackay, "A Christian filled with the Holy Ghost is the redemptive counterpart of the fanatical devotee of political religion. People consumed by the inner fire of the Spirit are the counterpart in human life of the smashed atom which releases cosmic force. It is not enough that I hear the Word of God and obey it. It is necessary that the Word of God become incarnate in my flesh in a spiritual sense, that Christ be formed in me, revealed in me, and not simply to me." By all means we must not lay on people the burden of our variegated interpretations of what the Gospel is or our patterns of churchmanship. If we plant and water, we can depend upon God to give the increase.

But we cannot stop here. The Jerusalem Meeting of 1928 made this pointed statement, which still holds: "Man is a unity; and his spiritual life is indivisibly rooted in all his conditions, physical, mental, and social . . . Missionary work must be sufficiently comprehensive to serve the whole man in every aspect of his life." In short, we are called upon to redeem the whole man and the whole society.

This is one of the main reasons for our concern for education, but it must be education which is permeated with the spirit of Christ—*Christian* education. We are carrying the Gospel to areas where the rate of illiteracy runs as high as ninety per cent, and this means a tragic waste in human resources, the failure of God's children to develop into the full dignity of the sons of God.

There are just two things which I would say here, although there are others which might be said. The first concerns our responsibility for the training and development of the leadership upon which the future of our whole effort depends, and I am thinking in terms of the ministry in particular as well as of laymen and women in general. If Christianity is ever to be given to a people in their national setting, it must be done, in the final analysis, through the peoples concerned. The burden of responsibility will fall upon the leadership raised up among them. But it must be an education which is sound from every point of view, which commands the respect and confidence of educators, which preserves the national genius and culture of the peoples, and which carries a vital concern for the problems of the environment in which it is to function. In the second place, by all means it must be an education which is related to the whole sphere of modern knowledge, especially to the natural sciences and technology. Second-rate or watered-down education will not meet the challenge of this day.

I would say just a word about the ministry of healing because the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost. In practically all the areas in which we are called upon to serve, one of the major problems is that of the high incidence of preventable diseases, infant mortality, premature death, and general debility. Modern medical science has the answer to most of the health problems which have wrought havoc in tropical and semi-tropical areas for generations. The major problem is that of transmitting this knowledge to peoples in the greatest need. While it is true that we have neither the resources in personnel or finances to assume a total responsibility in any areas in which we are ministering, this is not to absolve us from using what we have to the limit of our capacity to make a significant contribution both directly through a program of medical service and in one of training competent personnel. We are interested in making men whole, body, mind, soul, and spirit—"Thy faith hath made thee whole."

We are sent, in the main, to peoples in what we have come to call, for want of better terminology, the underdeveloped areas. They are unused to the problems of self-government, but nevertheless, whether ready or not, they look toward it as their immediate political goal.

These are areas where the level of production is not such as to sustain a normal standard of living, or provide public services, education, medical, and other social services normal among fully developed peoples. The problems facing us in such situations have a direct bearing on our witness. We cannot, under any circumstances, align ourselves with the forces of reaction, and peoples must be judged in the light of their potentialities rather than their present attainments. While in the nature of the case we cannot assume responsibility for direct action, we must be concerned that governments reflect the will and purpose of God as His instruments; that they recognize that they stand under God and His transcendent judgment; that the welfare of each citizen is the responsibility of all the citizens; and that the freedom of citizens, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech and thought, and freedom of the spirit are religiously protected.

The production of wealth and its distribution is of major concern to the Christian fellowship because the cause of the Kingdom of God among men is vitally related to the way men make a living. It involves their general welfare and spiritual enrichment, and this is especially true in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. It is here that God's will for His children can be and is so easily thwarted. In that part of the world with which we are concerned this is, beyond doubt, a problem of major proportions, where the great masses of the "have nots" in the world's population are still living below the level of normal and decent subsistence standards, and where God's children are condemned to chronic poverty, hunger, disease, and misery. But further, there is no such thing as political freedom or the maintenance of normal social services apart from the production of adequate wealth.

With our modern technology and manifold resources, it can no longer be maintained that resources are not available to meet this problem. What is important is that we find the will and the Christian motivation to apply the resources now available to this pressing problem. In the final analysis, the object of all production is the satisfaction of human needs, the enrichment of human personalities, and the building up of a stable community life. In this field direct action not only has its place, but is imperative. I can think of no more important phase of our educational program than that of training personnel in scientific agricultural production, both for essential foods as well as revenue crops, and vocational education with a view to meeting men's needs in a technological age. There is scarcely any point in thinking in terms of a self-supporting Church until we make our contribution to people in the production of wealth. Ministry to

the secular needs of men in the spirit of Christ is evangelism, in the right use of the word.

We cannot present Christianity to the non-Christian world as a purely Western phenomenon, nor can we carry the burden of Western civilization as such. We have already suffered too long for too close an identification in this regard. Christianity must be presented, as Toynbee put it, as a "universal religion with a message for all mankind." Our God is not only the God of Western Christianity, He is the only God there is. We are citizens of the Kingdom of Christ first, and accordingly seeking to bring men into communion with God and in fellowship one with another.

Now we must say a word on the vital question of race. More than half the peoples of the world belong to the non-white races. Two of our strongest competitors in the field for the souls of men, Islam and Communism, leave no doubt about their position on this question, and they have succeeded in convincing men in large numbers that there is no conflict between their theory and their practice. When we come to the basic principles of the Christian religion, our position cannot be matched by either. We insist upon the dignity of human personality and the oneness of all men in Christ. There cannot be any such thing as division between God's children on account of race, caste, or nationality. Whatever else God's Kingdom means, it means the spiritual unity of all men and races. There cannot be any equivocation here. Racial prejudice, economic discrimination, and political inequalities are simply incompatible with the Gospel of Christ. This is no academic question, but the acid test of the genuineness of our witness. It is the standard by which we will be judged, and, I might add, to the exclusion of many others. Resolutions, however noteworthy, are not the answer; our principles must be implemented in our common life both at the home base and on the fields where we labor.

Confronted with the crying needs of the multitudes in non-Christian lands and the further fact of the growing instability, political unrest, and Communist penetration in the most remote regions of South America, Africa, and Asia, we are faced with the choice of meeting our obligations in the traditional way and on our own terms, or joining forces with our brethren who are likewise concerned, especially on the functioning level. We must make a decision as to whether our traditional faith as to the actual being of the Church takes precedence over our obligation to set forward Christ's Kingdom for the redemption of God's children, or whether we must continue to inflict upon peoples with little concern for the refinements of our tradition the scandal of

our divisions, both within our own household and between us and our brethren of other witnessing Communion. As Brunner has so well put it in his *The Misunderstanding of the Church*, "In all this the meaning of Ecclesia is what we recognized from the New Testament as its characteristic essence: communion with God through Jesus Christ, and rooted in this and springing from it, communion or brotherhood with man. The oneness of communion with Christ and communion with man is the characteristic mark of the Ecclesia." And again: "Far more important than this organizational reunion of the historical churches is the readiness of individual Christians, and also especially church officials, to co-operate in the spirit of brotherliness."² I see no reason why we cannot and should not do just this, and particularly in the fields of education, medical service, and in that broader area of witnessing in our relations with the State and bringing to our peoples a more equitable share in their own economic resources.

Our task is so compelling and of such immediate urgency in the midst of the present crisis, and the forces arrayed against us so intrenched both within and without, that we may in the final analysis be forced to follow the way Canon Quick has so penetratingly showed us: "On the other hand, in so far as the Church, while still remaining true to its Lord, fails, because of the obstinacy of human sin . . . it cannot make the world an offering to God; and then it is driven, as its Lord was driven, to offer itself vicariously in the world's behalf. In this second aspect of its task, the Church appears, not so much as the harbinger of the world to come, not so much as 'the colony of heaven,' but rather as the follower of the Crucified, of the Suffering Servant and the Son of Man; it is the martyr-witness which awaits its glory, while it exhibits in itself the process rather than the fruit or end of Christ's atoning work."³

² Emil Brunner, *The Misunderstanding of the Church* (London: Lutterworth, 1952), pp. 107-8; 112.

³ Quick, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6.

A CHURCH IN ACTION

BY

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Organization and methods, if they are to prove successful, must be adapted to the conditions they have to meet. Conditions in different parts of the world differ. It would be rash to argue that what is good for one is good for all. None the less, there are basic facts which are the same the world over, and the essential features of the Christian mission do not change. Let us begin with a brief reminder of the more important of these.

(1) This is a scientific age. The advance of science is one of those major events in history that change the climate of thought. The revolution in techniques which has followed has altered radically man's way of life. A world society, as we have been reminded, in which two-thirds or three-fifths are undernourished and the population, owing to medical science and a sanitary revolution, is increasing at the rate of seventy thousand per day, is bound to look to science to be saved from famine and to control its numbers. Dr. J. H. Oldham writes in his last book, a remarkable book for a man to write in old age, "The most serious competitor of the Christian faith in the world today is what we may describe as salvation through knowledge"—the scientific sort of knowledge. And he adds that "if Christianity is to have a meaning for man today, it must make plain its attitude to this ambition of men to take on their own shoulders responsibility for their future." Christianity must prove its validity not only in the childhood of the race, but also when man reaches a more adult stage.

(2) Everywhere throughout the world the industrial revolution is in progress, even in tropical Africa. Civilization is becoming urban. Whatever the political setup of a state, the worker counts more and more in it, and on the whole the industrial workers as a class are out of touch with the Church—especially the Churches of our Communion. That is a challenging situation of which I shall have more to say later.

(3) Not unrelated to the industrial revolution is a change in the status and economic position of women during the last century comparable to the abolition of slavery. Woman has become a wage-earner in her own right; she has entered the professions on equal terms with

men; in many countries she has a vote and may share in local and national government. In my country a woman has more than once been Chairman of the Trades Union Congress, a Minister of the Government, and a Lord Mayor. This social and economic change has affected the family, whose unity is no longer preserved by the dictatorship of the *pater familias*. In the Church, however, a woman is still reminded that she is primarily a woman rather than a person, and she is disliking that more and more.

(4) By science, technology and industrialism, contemporary society is being pushed towards secularism and into a cult of happiness which measures the good life in terms of what money can buy. Before now men have been tempted to accept the half of reality for the whole, but the extent and intensity of the pressures today are new. What was a moral temptation now appears as common and scientific sense.

As of old, so now, some Christians would react by retiring into a walled city of faith, shutting the gates and refusing to wrestle with the new knowledge, the new morality, and the new modes of life. Neither the Bible truly understood nor the example of the Apostolic Church approve such a retreat from life.

Like the revelation of the character and purpose of God which the Bible records, the Church is set in history. It is therefore sensitive to the changing historical situation; and in fact the Christian faith as we meet it in the New Testament is a growing faith. St. Paul was aware of its growing quality and of the absence of this both in Jewish legalism, from which he had broken free, and in the superstitious paganism of the Graeco-Roman world—superstition and mere ritualism are always static. Christianity is a growing faith partly because it believes in poetry and in reason, and chiefly because it is loyalty to a person, a living Lord who communicates life by the power of the Holy Spirit and by the same Spirit makes the Gospel relevant today as yesterday.

The Church, according to the tradition of our Communion, is Incarnational, that is to say, it is neither sectarian nor puritan. In the words of Archdeacon Douglas Harrison, "our Lord's commission 'to go into all the world' has to be accepted at a deeper level than the geographical." Similarly the words "this do in remembrance of me" carry beyond the act of consecration out into the life of the worshippers in the world. It is worship made worthy and complete in act and life. Nevertheless, the Church will succeed in claiming the whole of life for God only when it is also other-worldly—from God to man, the Word-bearing, saving, forgiving, Divine Society, confronting the world of men with the transcendent holy love.

My title and theme are not a plea for mere and more activity. Unless our works are irrigated and nourished by vision, prayer, thought and the prophetic word they will be Dead Sea fruit. In this age of excessive activity—is not activism a major malady of society today?—the temptation is to hurry over these things instead of thinking upon them, and to call one to another, “Well, let’s get cracking.” But where there is no vision, Church and people perish. The blind cannot lead the blind.

Another temptation, equally pernicious, is to argue: let us concentrate upon ourselves, build up spiritual resources and so prepare for mission at some future unnamed date. It just does not happen like that. You cannot stock-pile faith, hope and charity. You can store gas in a container, but not love. Love increases the more it is given away. A truly missionary church is a deep Church. The strategy for the Church in the world today vis-à-vis false ideologies, the cult of happiness and all that sort of thing is not, I am persuaded, with those who call, “Come away to the catacombs”; nor with those who would substitute “the gathered church” for our splendid heritage of a Catholic, Incarnational, national Church. The true response is the discovery and recovery of the Church of apostolic action, an outward-looking Church, at a deep level of vision and thought, and in practice.

THE BASIC STRATEGY OF A CHURCH IN ACTION

I must leave others to speak from their experience of different spheres of operations from mine. I can only speak in terms of the situation I know and leave you to interpret and apply it, if you think fit, to your circumstances. I will mention six areas of strategy of a Church in action.

1 *Church and People*

In England as in the other countries of western and northern Europe the national Churches, be they Roman, Lutheran, Presbyterian or Anglican, be they maintained by a State Church tax or not—the Church of England is not—are organized on the parochial system which has developed over a thousand years and covers every acre of the country. The priest, to whom is committed the care of the souls of *all* the parishioners is or has been a *persona* in the local community; the parish church, often a central feature in the landscape, is also the center of the life of the community in its religious aspect. Even where the parish is no longer an economic and social unit, owing to quick transport and urbanization, the parochial system may still provide the right relationship between sacred and secular, Church and people. It

at least compels the Church to provide pastoral care and places of worship among the poor and the indifferent, as well as in neighbourhoods where there is more response and more finance. This is of value even if a priest may fail rather badly to represent Him who came not to be ministered unto but to minister and give His life for the many. When a bishop institutes an incumbent to an English parish, saying "your cure, my care," he delegates to the parish priest the cure of the souls of all the parishioners and not merely of those who are regular worshippers at the parish church; all the parishioners thereby have some claim on his time and attention. That also is a nexus of great potential value.

The Bishop of Stepney's recent book *A Parish in Action* sets out the principles of such an effort and also its successful practice in a newly built urban area on the outskirts of London. Similar tactics are being pursued in many parishes up and down England. The long-term aim is to make the worshipping congregation aware of itself and of its neighbourhood, and begin to feel a corporate responsibility towards all the people in it. Too few of them as yet do. The more flourishing a particular church becomes, the more numerous its organizations, the larger its receipts and communicants' roll, the blinder its members may become to the fact that they are a minority group in society, the less ready to see their daily work as the sphere of their Christian ministry, and the more inclined to substitute philanthropy for the compassion of Christ. The congregation has to become corporately aware of its neighbourhood as well as of its wider responsibilities in the world-wide Church, the laity encouraging the priest to neglect them a little in order to be a pastor and missionary to those outside, and they themselves being willing to share his missionary activity and to be trained and guided to co-operate efficiently. In fact, by using their homes for neighbourliness, friendship, and hospitality, lay men and women can make openings and penetrations which the priest-pastor can hardly do on his own; while in the decisions and relationships of their daily work, they have a field of operations into which he sometimes cannot enter at all.

2 *The Climate of Thought*

Clergy and laity have also to know and understand the climate of contemporary thought, its beliefs and unbeliefs, its hopes and perplexities. This is our most difficult task today, and if we were being true to a distinctive and enduring element in our tradition, we would be jumping to it with courage and sincerity. But are we?

One night last year, I was being driven to his home by a big in-

dustrialist. In the recesses of his limousine he suddenly asked me how much a man like him had to believe before he could feel himself to be a loyal member of the Church of England. I replied, possibly rather hastily, that he had to desire *con amore* to belong to and to forward a Church which had certain clear beliefs about God, man and life, and yet within it there was as much room for honest agnosticism and intellectual enquiry as in the New Testament; that I was always struck in reading the Gospels with the questions our Lord did not answer, refused to answer or said were unanswerable—some of them questions to which we would dearly like to have an answer.

The contrast between the agnosticism of the Gospels and the absence of it in the deacons' sermons, which as bishop I have to read, is indeed at times disquieting. Most thoughtful men and women today are not finding belief easy; they realize how great is the venture of faith. And many thoughtless men and women fancy that science and all that have debunked religion. Moreover, the problem of communication for the Christian teacher is teasing even if he cares for people quite a lot, and not all do. People whose minds are bemused by gadgets and techniques, and conditioned by a quasi-scientific education and who measure successful living in terms of happiness, find spiritual truth hard to grasp, and the Cross an offence rather than a Gospel.

The Church, I fear, is evading rather than meeting this task and opportunity. Our seminaries are not giving enough help to the men they train in this vital matter of communication. Many of the men they train do not appear to have felt how great is this venture of faith required of men and women in the world today, and therefore they fail to make any contact with those who at least realize that physical and historical science, and political growth have greatly altered men's knowledge of the universe, of the Bible and of life. The same is true of the ecclesiastical laity. Many of them are unsure of themselves in argument, while others who are very sure in their opinions give the wrong answers.

In a necessary reaction from a facile liberalism, some are in danger of falling over backwards into fundamentalism; and at the same time—which is so odd—the Bible is too rarely being taught as a coherent unity in England, in spite of the fact that the Bible is taught in all schools. A boy or girl may pass from school into life either with a crudely fundamentalist view of the Scriptures which he will discover to be untrue; or with a knowledge of bits and pieces of Scripture, a childish faith quite inadequate for an adult life in a world of acute tensions and competing ideologies and moralities—certainly not a

belief that unifies faith and knowledge, or makes for that "ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be no place left among you, either for error in religion, or for viciousness in life." This failure, one hopes, is only a temporary departure from the tradition of our Church due to influences impinging upon us from outside. It is, however, inopportune at a time when we are realizing that the mission of the Church is a work of clergy and laity in co-operation, and that the laity must, therefore, also have sound learning, albeit simple, in Christian truth and life. An instructed, disciplined, dedicated laity is the only kind of laity that can exercise "the priesthood of all believers" in contemporary society.

The field of leadership training and adult education is one in which there is room for experiment and variety of method, formal and informal. Because those who have been most aware of its importance have been academic persons, a good deal of religious adult education has been too formal to attain its object. It is a mistake to assume that because a man is inarticulate and cannot utter his thoughts, he is thoughtless. By patience on the part of a leader and practice on the part of the others, a group of such people can become articulate, and they may have things worth saying drawn from their experience of life, as Mr. Taft reminded us. In my corner of the world we have been pegging away at this—lively discussions with groups that once were tongue-tied; a simple course of study and teaching followed throughout a diocese, leading up possibly to a week of straight teaching addresses at centres to which representatives from the several parishes pledge themselves to come, and do; a conference house to which all sorts of groups from both sides of the Christian frontier, and particularly from the shop-floors of industry and from the teaching profession, come for training in Christian leadership, for conference and prayer.

3 *The Community*

A Christian congregation should never allow itself to become just a federation of organizations, each regarding itself as an end in itself. As every minister knows, this is a natural tendency. The keener and more effective those who run the organization are, the more likely is it to happen. But as St. Paul knew well, the Christian community is an organism. As Bishop Reeves reminded us, it should be "a family of families."

Many of our churches in England are emphasizing this by making what we call the parish communion the act of Sunday worship to which all communicants come from as far as may be with their fam-

ilies. There is, as you have heard, a new emphasis on the people's part in the service. That service is completed in what is inaccurately called the parish meeting or conference. It is not a meeting to listen to an address by one of the clergy, nor a business meeting of officials, but an informal gathering of men and women of all ages, who take counsel together with the clergy concerning the Church's mission in the parish, in the nation, and in the world, and are willing to learn to share the work of ministry with them. At the same time the number of church organizations is cut down in order to encourage churchmen to take part in the organizations of their neighbourhood, political, social, artistic, recreational, and exercise an influence in them.

This recovery of the ministry of the laity, and of the sense of the Church as the Body of Christ, marches with the discovery of the Church's responsibility towards the society in which it is set, and for the whole life of men and women and not merely for that part of their life which can be specifically labelled religious. It is a prerequisite of effective evangelism; for in a society in which the language of Christianity has by such speaking become devalued, the life of the fellowship which derives from the faith may be more persuasive than the spoken word.

4 Our Contribution to Evangelism

The response of our Churches to the call to preach the Gospel to all the world is handicapped because they are not in full communion with the other great Churches into which the Body of Christ is broken. Therefore, we, more than any, must help forward the Ecumenical Movement and play a full part in the World Council of Churches. Our Communion, nevertheless, has a distinctive contribution to bring, deriving from its emphasis on wholeness of life and on intellectual integrity. This emphasis is more than ever necessary. Today as yesterday, some Christians conceive the Christian faith to be narrowly salvationist, the Christian life as a way of escape from the world, the Christian Church as a fold for spiritual refugees. In troubled times, and these are troubled times, this type of religion may bring deliverance from uncertainty and fear. When fear neuroses pervade society, religions of authority and revivalism get quick returns because they enable men to shift their fears away from themselves, thus securing a measure of interior peace. It is, however, at the cost of refusing to make that passage from a static to a growing faith, which St. Paul had in mind when he wrote the famous words, "When I was a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things."

"The salvation of a man's soul," Baron von Hügel wrote thirty years ago, "has sometimes been preached so incautiously as to make it appear that salvation will best be secured by his never waking up to any of the larger issues . . . But one of the most reassuring features of institutional Christianity is precisely this—that it will never put up with mere pietism." While these pietist traditions are not unknown within our Communion, they are not of its ethos. The temptation to which we are more often exposed is that of fraternising with the world too easily, especially at bourgeois and governmental levels. It is for this reason that our congregations sometimes become complacent in regard to social justice, and lose both the upward and the outward urge. And yet we know, do we not, even if the state of the world were not shouting it in our ears, that God so loves His world and the people in it that He cannot delight in the worship of those who turn their backs upon that world and on those for whom He cares. Men and women who do not share the passion for social justice that reverberates through the Bible or the tender mercy of the Saviour, who redeems because He identifies himself with all human need, are not yet saved, however word-perfect their orthodoxy or devout their piety. Neither will they commend the Gospel to a contemporary society which is sensitive to the demands of social justice, and feels the tension in practice between social justice and freedom more acutely than some Christians seem to do.

5 New Ventures in Contact-making and in Evangelism

The traditional patterns of church life and work have to be supplemented by new ways of making contact with those outside and of penetrating industrial society. In England, the proportion of manual workers in our churches is small. Even in a mining town and pit-village where the community sense is strong, few of the men who work at the coal-face come to church. The reasons are partly historical. In the long struggle of the workers during the past century for freedom, social justice, and decent conditions, the early leaders were as often as not men of Christian conviction who drew their inspiration from the Bible. They criticised and left the churches in those days, not as the Marxist does because they are Christian, but because they were not Christian enough. And their successors, on the whole, have stayed away. But now that the immediate objectives of Trade Unions have been won, the lack is being felt of a coherent faith and view of life to set against scientific humanism. More generally is it true to say that all classes have been living on spiritual capital and trying to make do with varying Christian sentiments and a vague optimism about prog-

ress which lacks—if I may be allowed the expression—intellectual guts and is quite unrealistic.

The Church will not convince industrial society or the great professional groups that the Christian interpretation is true and the Christian way of life best, until it makes new, direct approaches both to industrial workers at all levels and to other social and professional groups, and so helps them to bring a Christian judgment to the day to day decisions that govern industry, and to the relationships of professional and family life, and enlists them in working for a finer quality of life.

We have to convert individuals, and often at the same time to leave them in their natural groupings to act as leaven. We have also, as it were, to baptize whole groups, and thereby alter the climate of thought. The most interesting venture of which I have knowledge has been the attempt of a few priests, specially chosen and commissioned, to make friends on the shop-floors of heavy industry with workers who were right outside the churches and had no use for them. This experiment begun with the consent of management and trade unionists over ten years ago, now goes forward with their full approval and support. It has overcome the difficulties of communication at the cost of the complete self-giving of those doing the work; it has reduced the gap between the industrial workers and the Church, and it is creating a new sort of Christian laymen within industry.

Now, if this kind of initiative is to continue—and there are many ways of doing it—it requires courage, patience and love in those who do it, and also radical changes in the way men are trained for the ministry, and maybe experiments in workmen-priests if not priest-workmen. It is also important to give to men and women who intend to be or already are teachers, social workers, doctors and the like, an understanding of and training in the Christian faith and life more thorough than they are likely to pick up in their local church, and relevant to the work they are going to do.

Only by a strategy broadly conceived with varying tactics will the Church be able to claim the whole of life for Christ. After all, it is living that matters. To that end all institutions and organizations are subordinate. "I came that they might have life," said Jesus. Knowledge, orthodoxy of belief or unbelief, is not the last word. The last word is living, in the late Michael Roberts' fine phrase, "living at full compass," and so the mind active and at rest in Christ.

The concern I would share with you all is for the future trend of the industrial masses, at present so dangerously out of touch with the Church, and so little touched by the churches as they are staffed and

operated. I have tried to show that we delude ourselves when we think the gap can be closed by a few well-written pamphlets dropped as we hurriedly pass, by short-term ministries in industrial districts, by hot-gospeiling, or by expensive philanthropies. Equally we delude ourselves if we imagine Communism can be shot down, ferreted out, stamped out, or even argued down. It has to be lived down by being outlived. Only the Christian Church at its best can do that. And we are slow at getting off the mark. The situation demands a *costly identification* with the lives of the men, women and families who form the base of the pyramid of industrial society and the majority nowadays in every society.

My hope and prayer are that during the next half century the Holy Spirit may inspire a movement and ministry of the Church to the world, clergy and laity, men and women, which will do for our world what the Franciscan and Dominican movements in their early days did for the medieval world, more fully identified with the life of the world than those religious orders could be, but fired by the same passion, love, courage, intelligence, and power from on high.

6 *An Outward-looking Church*

If I were speaking in England my sixth point would be the place of competent administration, streamlined organization, efficient finance and generous giving in the work of an outward-looking Church. It would be an impertinence for an English churchman to speak of these things on American soil, save to acknowledge the fine example you folk here show in voluntary giving, not only for the maintenance of your own churches, but on a very generous scale to missionary work overseas and to the post-war demands of inter-church aid and refugee service. For these we applaud and thank you.

THE PRE-REQUISITE OF A CHURCH IN ACTION

And so I come to a concluding word: How may these things be? The Church as the New Testament reveals it and thinks of it is a Church in action. It looks outward. It continues the earthly ministry of the Incarnate Son. Fortified by His presence, it is the human instrument in the world of God, who wills that all men should be saved and come to the truth. If that is the will of God, then all men are redeemable and teachable, and the Church, its clergy and laity, must have confidence in their commitment. The Apostolic Church had. The first chapter of its record is well-named the *Acts* of the Apostles. Their worship was lively and moving, their fellowship close-knit and happy because they knew that they were on a big job, not theirs

but His. For them prayer and action, worship and living were a well-integrated whole life, and that life a thanksgiving for what God had done and was doing. It was action, not only feeling, corporate as well as individual, priest and laity together, a Church with a sense of mission, evangelism a normal part of its working day.

Equally in our own time, the Christian mission calls for a high quality of thought, courage and vision. William Temple spoke truth when he said: "Only Christian faith can make the world safe for freedom; and only Christian faith can make freedom safe for the world." What the Church wants above all and beyond price is men and women—lots of them—who know what it is to "choose, leap and be free"; Christian groups and congregations that have together seen the vision which the Apostolic Church, the founders of the great Orders, the Pilgrim Fathers, and the missionary pioneers saw, and were encouraged and inspired to go forward, conquering and to conquer.

Vision is the great biblical experience. Vision must inform our thought, prayer and practice before they become airborne. "Sirs, we would see Jesus" is the unarticulated demand of mankind upon the Church. However hard churchmen work, we cannot re-present if we ourselves do not see. It is when penitent and committed Christians see the Lord and the Kingdom truly that conversion leads to a radical change of mind, to wholeness of life, and to a release of spiritual power. The essential aim governing the Church's work, therefore, is to help men to see the Lord—the surpassing majesty and shining beauty of the living God in the face of Jesus Christ, so that a man can say with conviction: Now I know.

O, King, O, Christ, this endless grace
To us, and all men bring
To see the vision of thy face,
In joy, O Christ, our King.

Such a vision would shake many human timidities and complacencies out of the Churches and put fresh blood into their veins. A company so possessed and persevering—truly a *Church in Action*—would surely be used of Christ to lead contemporary society, frightened by its powers and conflicts, into a more Christian way of life and nearer to the Kingdom of God.

The last Congress discussion session was held on Thursday afternoon, August 12, with the BISHOP OF BRISTOL (the Rt. Rev.

Frederic A. Cockin) presiding as Moderator. The report of the findings from group discussions of *Our Work* was read by MR. W. H. SAUMAREZ-SMITH (England), Secretary of Group 19, and the BISHOP OF MONTREAL (the Rt. Rev. John H. Dixon), Chairman of Group 5, and the BISHOP COADJUTOR OF RHODE ISLAND (the Rt. Rev. John S. Higgins), Chairman of Group 12, spoke to it by arrangement. When the discussion was concluded, a motion to accept the statement subject to editorial revision and reconsideration in the final session was passed.

That evening the members of the Editorial Committee, assisted by the BISHOP OF SOUTH CAROLINA, the BISHOP OF OLYMPIA, and three of the Moderators—the BISHOP OF NEW YORK, the BISHOP OF RIPON, and the BISHOP OF BRISTOL—worked until the early hours of the morning at the task of redrafting the statements on all four topics. Cast into the form of a *Report of the Editorial Committee to the Congress*, a procedure that had been previously outlined to the Congress by the BISHOP OF OLYMPIA and approved by the delegates, the final draft was mimeographed overnight by members of the secretarial staff that it might be distributed at the closing session on Friday morning.

CONGRESS SERVICES AND EVENTS

CONGRESS SERVICES

The two great public services of the Anglican Congress were the Opening Service on the evening of August 4 in the Minneapolis Auditorium, and the Mass Meeting of Missionary Witness at St. Paul on August 8. The forms devised and set forth for these special services, together with that of the final Evening Prayer on the closing day, are included at the appropriate places in this *Report*.

The daily services of the Congress at which the delegates found themselves linked inseparably with each other in their common tradition of prayer and worship, and in their participation in the Eucharist, were held in The Cathedral Church of St. Mark. Each day Morning Prayer was read at 7:15, the Use being that of the Prayer Book of the Church of England. Evening Prayer was sung at 5:30 according to the American Prayer Book, the choirs of The Cathedral, St. Clement's Church and Gethsemane Church assisting. Following Morning Prayer, the Holy Communion was celebrated daily, the rites of different Churches or Provinces of the Communion being used in turn. The service on the first morning, at which eight hundred delegates and Congress workers were present for a Corporate Communion, was conducted by the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, assisted by the Bishop of Minnesota and the Bishop of Connecticut. On succeeding days the celebrants were the Primus of Scotland, the Metropolitan of India, the Archbishop of Quebec, the Presiding Bishop of the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai, the Bishop of Christchurch, the Archbishop of the West Indies, the Bishop of Pretoria, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, each using the liturgy of his own Church. Some measure of the spirit of earnest devotion that characterized the days of comradeship and common thought the delegates spent together was made evident at these Cathedral services. Nearly four hundred members of the Congress were present each morning at the Eucharist in The Cathedral, while many others attended Communion services that were offered daily in parish churches of Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Delegates were provided with a convenient and attractively printed booklet of the Congress Services, containing not only the full text of the public services and complete forms for daily Morning and Evening Prayer, but also outlines of the different Eucharistic rites used on succeeding days, in order that they might be able to enter with more familiarity into the structure of the liturgies of the different Churches. Both the admirable planning of the services and their flawless conduct was due to the work of the Rev. Canon Edward N. West, Sacrist of The Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, and Chairman of the

Congress Subcommittee on Services, to whom the Congress owed a very great debt of gratitude.

CONGRESS EVENTS

The extraordinary community of mind and spirit that was established among the delegates at the Congress owed much to the background of gracious and unceasing hospitality shown at every point by the people of the Diocese of Minnesota. From the opening reception at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts to the informal dinners given in homes of the Twin Cities, the evenings and free hours of the delegates were filled with opportunities for relaxation and intimate fellowship with each other and with their hosts.¹ Among the most enjoyable events were the Delegates' Dinner at the Minikahda Club, where the spacious lawns of the club and the sparkling waters of the adjacent lake provided an unforgettable setting for the discovery of new friends from many lands; and the supper party at Lake Minnetonka, where the delegates and visitors were delightfully entertained by a performance of Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Yeomen of the Guard* by the Canterbury Players of the University of Minnesota. Daily the tea-tent on the Cathedral lawn was the scene of refreshment and relaxation between sessions of Congress work; tours of the Twin Cities, luncheons, dinners and other parties for large or small groups, a constant friendly readiness to increase the comfort and enjoyment of the delegates in every way—all placed the members of the Congress in an indebtedness to the people of Minneapolis and St. Paul that can never be repaid.

The program of the ten days included some events not immediately related to the work of the Congress. A luncheon of the Woman's Auxiliary was attended by hundreds of Minnesota church women to hear Mrs. Geoffrey F. Fisher, introduced by Mrs. Henry Knox Sherrill, speak on the contribution of women to the life and work of the Church. At a Diocesan Dinner a thousand church people of the diocese were addressed by the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop also spoke at a luncheon meeting of the English Speaking Union; the Bishop of Johannesburg was the principal speaker at a meeting of the Interracial Commission of the Governor of Minnesota. During the Congress, the Lambeth Advisory Council on Missionary Strategy was able to hold the first meetings since its inception; gatherings of other commissions and groups bearing responsibility for similar aspects of the Church's work in the different Provinces found opportunities to share their knowledge and experience.

¹ All Congress events are listed in the Daily Program reprinted in Appendix II.

An event of special interest was the pilgrimage made by a large number of delegates on Saturday afternoon, August 7, to the historic shrines of the Diocese of Minnesota at Faribault. There, almost a century ago at what was then an important center of the Church's missionary work in the north central states, The Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour was dedicated and diocesan schools established for boys and girls. Faribault's shrines witness to the devotion and achievements of Henry Benjamin Whipple, first Bishop of Minnesota and a notable builder and missionary in the history of the Episcopal Church on the frontier.

The delegates were transported from Minneapolis to Faribault in a cavalcade of buses, led by the automobiles of the Bishop of Minnesota and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Received for lunch at Shattuck School, a famous military school for boys, they were then driven to The Cathedral, the site of Bishop Whipple's tomb, where a service had been arranged in the form of A Litany of Remembrance and Thanksgiving. The Bishop of Minnesota conducted the service, assisted by the Dean and the Headmaster of Shattuck, and after greetings by the American Presiding Bishop, the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered the sermon. From The Cathedral the delegates were driven to the beautiful grounds and buildings of St. Mary's School where tea was served before the return trip to Minneapolis.

MASS MEETING OF MISSIONARY WITNESS

On August 8, the one Sunday morning falling within the days of the Congress, no Congress services were held after the early celebration of the Holy Communion, according to the rite of the Church of England in Canada, conducted by the ARCHBISHOP OF QUEBEC. Delegates and visitors were free to attend services in the parishes of the Twin Cities, while many of the bishops and other clerical delegates occupied the pulpits of churches in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and other cities and towns through the Diocese of Minnesota. At the eleven o'clock service at The Cathedral Church of St. Mark the preacher was the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. At 4:00 P.M. on the same afternoon a service of Evening Prayer, arranged by the Program Committee with the permission and assistance of the Dean, was held in The Cathedral, the sermon being preached by the REV. ROLAND KOH of the Diocese of Victoria Hong Kong.

On Sunday evening at 8:00 P.M. an enthusiastic congregation of nearly six thousand people assembled in the Auditorium of the city of St. Paul to participate in the Congress Mass Meeting of Missionary Witness. On the stage at the end of the vast hall, behind the massed choirs, the banners of the Churches and Provinces were ranged in a colorful circle below the great seal of the Congress. A long platform was erected before the stage, holding chairs for the Primates, Presiding Bishops, Metropolitans and Bishops who were chairmen of Congress committees. The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY and the PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH were seated on either side of the central desk, the three speakers between them. On the right of the Archbishop sat the PRIMUS OF SCOTLAND, the METROPOLITAN OF INDIA, the ARCHBISHOP OF THE WEST INDIES, the BISHOP OF MINNESOTA, the ARCHBISHOP OF MOOSONEE, the ARCHBISHOP OF MELBOURNE and the BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT; On the Presiding Bishop's left sat the ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, the ARCHBISHOP OF RUPERT'S LAND, the ARCHBISHOP OF SYDNEY, the PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE NIPPON SEI KO KWAI, the ARCHBISHOP OF QUEBEC, the ARCHBISHOP OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, the BISHOP COADJUTOR OF MINNESOTA, the BISHOP OF SOUTH CAROLINA, and the BISHOP OF OLYMPIA.

Promptly at eight o'clock the vested archbishops and bishops took their places on the platform and the meeting began with the spirited singing of the opening hymns, the people using a special service leaflet as follows:

MASS MEETING OF MISSIONARY WITNESS

THE ANGLICAN CONGRESS
SUNDAY, AUGUST 8, 1954, AT 8 P.M.
THE ST. PAUL AUDITORIUM

¶ *As soon as the Primates and Metropolitans of the Anglican Communion and the Speakers have come to the platform, these hymns shall be sung.*

HOLY Father, great Creator

Source of mercy, love, and peace

REGENT SQUARE

PRaise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King of creation

PRAISE TO THE LORD

¶ *After the singing of these hymns, the People will attend to*

THE BIDDING

The Most Reverend and Right Honorable Geoffrey Francis Fisher,
C.C.V.O., D.D., Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All
England and Metropolitan

Good people, we are met together this night because of the deep concern which is laid upon us by the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. We are called to preach the glad tidings of salvation to a world which seeks its Saviour and which wanders in darkness without him who is its Light; we must, therefore, let that Light so shine before men that they, seeing our good works, may glorify our Father which is in heaven. Our worldwide Anglican fellowship has been sown with the blood of martyrs and blessed by the example of confessors, but their good works were to the Father's glory and not to ours, therefore we must either advance their work or hurt the souls for whom, after their Lord, they suffered and died; for wherever the Gospel of Christ has been truly preached, truly received, and truly followed, the kingdom of sin, Satan, and death has been broken down to the great and endless comfort of God's dispersed sheep.

Our Lord charged us to make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Three of the many who have gone forth in obedience to this charge

will speak to us tonight: the Assistant Bishop of Lagos, West Africa, the Bishop of Alaska, and the Bishop of Kurunagala, Ceylon.

HYMN

CHRIST for the world we sing!

The world to Christ we bring

MOSCOW

ADDRESS

BY

THE RIGHT REVEREND ADELUKUN WILLIAMSON FOWELL
OLUMIDE HOWELLS, B.D.

Assistant Bishop of Lagos and Provost of Christ Church Cathedral

The first note I wish to strike at this meeting is one of thankfulness to Almighty God for bringing us together from the four quarters of the globe to witness to our common faith. It pleased God to put into the hearts of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America to invite representatives of the Anglican Communion to meet here from all parts of the world. We belong to diverse nationalities, races, tongues and practices, but we are all one in Christ Jesus and owe one allegiance to Him.

For myself I have special cause to be thankful to God that the Program Committee of this Congress invited me to speak at this Mass Meeting of Missionary Witness on behalf of West Africa. I am fully conscious of the heavy responsibility placed on me, and I pray that God may uphold me that I may uplift Him.

Africa, which I represent tonight, has always been known as the Dark Continent. Yes, it was and still is, in many respects, when compared with other continents; but in the words of a book called *Africa is Here*, I have to tell you that Africa *is* here, not only in this auditorium, but in the eyes of the world as a focus between the West and the East, because the light of the Gospel has displaced most of the darkness and that light is still shining.

There is an expression of a great writer with which you are all familiar—"the happy pagans"—and I am sure that there are still many people in the world today who blame the missionaries for preaching the Gospel, and who say that the pagans would have been happier had they been left to remain in their ignorance and in darkness. Such people cannot be Christians, and if they are nominal Christians they

must be told that they are kicking against the pricks. The whole world was in darkness until Christ came, and His advent brought life, yea, life abundant. "I am come," He said, "that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

Perhaps those of you who belong to the Older Churches, that is, the mother Churches who brought the Gospel to us in Africa, may not realize what this life abundant means, because you have had centuries of the benefits of the Christian religion; but we have seen within one century what wonderful works the power of the Gospel has done.

If today Africa is worth mentioning at all, either as the country which can supply the raw materials that are found useful in war as well as in peacetime, or as a coming nation, it is only because certain missionary societies obeyed the command of our Lord and sent men and women to give their lives for the sake of the Gospel.

It was in 1752 that the Gospel was first preached in West Africa and the Church planted there, when the S. P. G. sent out a priest to the Gold Coast. Before that time Portuguese navigators had been sailing along the Coast as early as the fourteenth century in search of trade and adventure. As a result of the contacts made, Roman priests went out, but only some few stones remain in Benin City to remind us of their mission. Present-day Christianity in West Africa owes its origin to the Anglican Church, to the S. P. G. and the C. M. S. These two societies have evangelized our country, and the spheres of their labours today are the dioceses which have become the Province of West Africa. Thanks be to God.

The Church of the Province of West Africa as it is today may be said to have been founded as a result of the abolition of the slave trade. Among the many crimes that history lays to the charge of the British nation is the circumstance that an Englishman was the first individual who saw in the buying and selling of Africans a source of gain greater than the traffic in gold dust and ivory. This personage was the celebrated John Hawkins, who in 1562 took the first English cargo of slaves to the West Indies. It has been estimated that for about two centuries tens of thousands of slaves were exported every year from West Africa to the New World.

I am not here, however, to describe the agony of soul and bodily pain which our forefathers underwent. Those days of ignorance God overlooked and the evil of slave trade has been overruled by Providence for the evangelization of our people, because in 1799, when the Church Missionary Society was founded "for Africa and the East," and because the war against Napoleon prevented the Society from undertaking work in the East, Africa became the center of evangelization.

Missionaries were sent to Freetown and Sierra Leone, where rescued slaves from Nova Scotia and Nigeria were settled.

The first kind of work on which the early missionaries bestowed their attention was the education of the young. As the ships of the British Navy were patrolling the high seas in search of vessels carrying slaves, after the slave trade had been abolished by an Act of Parliament, they brought captured slaves to Freetown, some of whom settled in the villages. It was in one of these villages, Leicester, that the C. M. S. founded in 1816 the Christian institution later called Fourah Bay College, which has since become a university college affiliated to Durham University.

One of those educated in this college was Samuel Adjai Crowther, the first African bishop, without whose name the history of the Church in West Africa cannot be written. Captured as a slave in a small town in Nigeria, he was rescued by one of His Majesty's ships.

As the work of training the future leaders expanded, the Church was not content to be a "receiving" Church, but endeavored to become a "sending" Church also. The opportunity for becoming such a Church came when the British Government decided to send out an expedition to the River Niger for the promotion of a legitimate commerce. The Committee of the C. M. S. applied for permission to send with the expedition two persons connected with the Society to explore the practicability and expediency of forming a mission up the Niger. Their request was granted and the Rev. J. F. Schon and Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Crowther accompanied the expedition.

On July 2, 1841, the expedition left Freetown accompanied by African seamen, laborers, interpreters and teachers who were anxious to make known to their kith and kin the "unsearchable riches of Christ." Thus the second stage in the work of the missions was the preaching of the Gospel of Christ by Africans to Africans under the leadership of the European missionaries. Great as has been the service of European missionaries, it is true to say that the evangelization of West Africa has been, in the main, the work of the Africans themselves.

In the last century there was only one bishop for the whole of western Equatorial Africa—Sierra Leone including Gambia, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The S. P. G. had withdrawn from the Gold Coast and its work was carried on by two official chaplains until 1904. The Diocese of Accra, strongly Anglo-Catholic, was founded in 1909. In 1919 the Niger Territories were divided into the two dioceses of Lagos and the Niger. Both of these have witnessed remarkable growth in numbers and organization. They have given twelve Africans to the

episcopate and together they have at the present time two hundred and eighty clergy.

We were then under the jurisdiction of Canterbury, but in 1951 the Archbishop of Canterbury came to Sierra Leone and the diocesan bishops of our five dioceses holding mission from His Grace "solemnly decreed and declared that their dioceses were by their act and determination united in the Province of West Africa with the intention that its organization should be developed in accordance with the Articles hereinafter contained as a Province of the Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England and with the Anglican Communion of Churches."

Let me give you a brief picture of one of the dioceses. In the city of Lagos, called "the Liverpool of West Africa," there are about twelve Anglican churches besides a cathedral, the foundation of which was laid by the Duke of Windsor, then the Prince of Wales, in 1925. Within this diocese there are about a million Christians of various denominations. A typical clergyman has a parish of about twelve churches, large as well as small, and each church has its own catechist or evangelist. He has to go round to all these churches at least once in three months, preaching, administering the Sacraments, holding Bible classes and meetings with the catechists and teachers, as well as settling palavers among the church committees.

This sounds impracticable, but it is being done, and that brings me to one of our problems, perhaps the most difficult. The spade work of preparing converts for Baptism and Confirmation is done by the catechist or church agent or a pupil-teacher, who himself is untrained. It is wonderful how the Church has grown and is growing, but this should impress upon us all the truth of these words: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." The resources for training and caring for the membership of the Church have always been inadequate. For instance, in the whole of Nigeria, four times the size of Great Britain, there are only two Anglican theological colleges, as compared with at least twenty-four in Great Britain.

Although, therefore, West Africa has become a Province and the Church is mainly self-supporting and self-expanding, the shortage of training colleges for pastors and teachers is alarming, and we look to the Older Churches to help us in this respect. The spiritual life of the Church needs deepening through the work of the Ministry, and there is a great deal that the Older Churches can do to help. Our Province is just like a child who is trying to walk. You have brought us into existence; we have been crawling all along, and now that we are beginning to walk, will you not hold us by the hand?

How I wish that not only the Church of England, but also the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, the Church in Canada and other Older Churches could now extend the work of evangelization to the British Colonies in West Africa by sending men and women to our training colleges and by giving us the money to build and equip more training centres.

A century ago Africa was steeped in ignorance. We cannot boast of any ancient literature like the Chinese or the Indians, but when the missionaries came, their first task, as I have already said, was to educate the people and translate the Scriptures into their language. Those who were educated in turn became teachers of their own people. Is it not wonderful that within a century we should have in West Africa three university colleges, as well as other colleges of science, arts and technology; about two hundred secondary grammar schools for boys and girls and thousands of primary schools?

Until recently the whole of the educational work was done by the missions. Ninety-five percent of the leaders in Church and State were educated in mission schools. Even the Muslims were trained by us. The few schools that were run by the Government as models can be counted on the fingers. But the situation has changed and is changing. The Government has greater control over all schools now, because the teachers are paid by them and they give grants to the missions for buildings and other purposes. This is as it should be, and in Western Nigeria it is proposed to have free education in 1956. There will be what we call Local Education Councils that will control the policy of our schools, and on these councils are Muslims, heathen and illiterates. The teaching of religion will be restricted and education will be more secular.

The greatest fear the Church has is about the teachers. If all or nearly all the teachers in these schools could be trained in Christian training colleges we can confidently hope that the future generation will have the fear of God in them, which is the beginning of all wisdom. But we have not got the colleges; we have not got the men; we have not got the money. Lagos Diocese, which I represent, has only one teacher training college.

The cry for education is great. Scores of our young men and young women are being sent to England and America to be trained and to be qualified in arts, science, medicine, engineering, nursing, economics, agriculture, etc., but how many of them care about religion? May I appeal to you who come across our students here in America or in the United Kingdom to draw them into the fellowship of the Church

and give them a vision of what Christian education should be, and what is expected of them as future leaders of Africa?

An intelligent and influential African is reported to have said: "What our Christians need is to see the Gospel proclaimed and expressed by others than those paid to do the job." As, generally speaking, only one person in five or six in the area in which the Anglican work is carried on belongs to the Christian Church, and as the Church lacks sound instruction and proper pastoral care, the result is that the standard of Church life is poor, and the average member of the Church is "religious" rather than "Christian." He believes in God; he is a loyal supporter of the services and finances of the Church, but his grasp of Christ and of Christ's Way is uncertain or confused.

This, of course, is due to the unavoidable and inevitable secular influence of Western civilization. Not long ago, a Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, said: "Progress in material prosperity has far outstripped progress in mental and moral wealth," and Dr. Busia, of the Gold Coast, too, said as recently as in 1951: "The Gold Coast may well become a third rate country with no values, no standards, and no quality, because political achievement is rushing ahead of moral and social achievement." These two statements are true today of West Africa as a whole.

In the large towns the danger of the country's gaining the whole world and losing its own soul is very great. There is intense preoccupation with trade, political activity and secular education. Housing is grossly inadequate, and migrant labor, like what soil erosion is to the land, has caused the disruption of family life and the breaking of the restraints of tribal custom.

The Church is not unaware of these facts and it is trying to influence the country through education, especially of the women. The education of the women had been neglected for many years, because the people did not think it necessary to educate women. Apart from primary and secondary schools for girls there is need for Training Homes for those girls who will become the wives of pastors, teachers and leaders in the State. It is very essential, but we have only one such Home in Western Nigeria for the Dioceses of Lagos, Ibadan and Ondo-Benin, but what is that among so many?

Happy to say, the country has advanced in many other ways. To give you just a few examples, our team of athletes was in Vancouver competing in the Empire Games. When Oxford and Cambridge competed recently the four competitors tied for the first place in the high jump with a jump of five feet, ten inches. Almost at the same time in

Lagos the winner of the high jump cleared six feet, four and a half inches!

Then again, in the realm of human relationships, the eyes of the world are focussed by the press today on the colour bar problem in Africa, but I am happy to assure you that in West Africa there is no colour bar. Colour bar is illogical and untheological.

In politics, before the British came to colonize, we had our own system of government and our own culture. The people were ruled by their chiefs or kings who had their councils and courts. When the British came, at first they imposed their rule upon us, but later on with experience they ruled indirectly through the chiefs and introduced the system of democracy. Today we have made such an advance under British rule that we are on the road to governing ourselves. In Nigeria, the largest British colony, we have as the head of the government, the Governor, the representative of Her Majesty, but the executive administration is in the hands of a Council of Ministers, the majority of whom are Nigerians. There is a Legislative House of Representatives composed of Nigerians with only about half a dozen European officials, and it is hoped by some that by 1956 Nigeria will become a fully self-governing member of the British Commonwealth. This urge has come to some from the Christian faith. Nearly eighty percent of the political leaders have been brought up in Christian schools, and in the Churches they received training in self-government and democratic control through the meetings, committees and synods.

Of course, the Church has never doubted the rightfulness of self-government. She cannot reasonably do so, because she has herself achieved self-government, but her concern is that when the colonies become self-governing and independent dominions there will be *good* government. At present many of the leaders in politics are professing Christians. Whether or not we have Christian leaders, we must have Christians in politics. To quote the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury when he was in Freetown, Sierra Leone, for the inauguration of the Province, "It is true to say that the Christian Church has made the growth of political responsibility possible in West Africa by being the pioneers in education, by training Christians in the art of responsible leadership; above all, by teaching men and women to find in Christ the grace and strength of Christian character." He added, "Now the Church must lead and inspire the growth which is yet to come."

West Africa has not yet faced the challenge of monogamy, the Christian ideal of marriage and the relationship of man to woman. The homes of the people are simply "houses," and village life is far

from sanitary. There is a lot of disease and infantile mortality, due to ignorance mainly, and fear. It is said that there are four hundred thousand lepers in Nigeria alone and the incidence of blindness is one in every seventy.

It is true that Africa is no longer the white man's grave, although it is not yet his Paradise, because there have been many improvements due to the increasing number of African doctors and nurses and to the spread of education. But can you believe that in Nigeria today we still have only one doctor to ninety thousand patients as against one to five thousand in U.K.; one bed to three thousand patients as against one bed to five hundred patients in U.K.

That, in brief, is the situation in Africa today. That is the call to the missions, to you all who are assembled in this Congress. Your predecessors, the early missionaries, gave their lives to cast out the unclean spirit of evil, ignorance, superstition and fear; but today, that evil spirit is coming back bringing with it other spirits of materialism, love of money, indifference to things of the Spirit, and other social evils.

It is your duty and mine to take up the challenge. The victory is on our side, mind you; because our Master has said: "Be of good cheer: I have overcome the world."

May God grant to us that we may go away from this Congress fired with a new zeal for the missionary task of the Church.

HYMN

CROWN him with many crowns,
The Lamb upon his throne

DIADEMATA

ADDRESS

BY

THE RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM JONES GORDON, JR., D.D.

Bishop of Alaska

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

One of the really great features of this gathering of the Anglican Communion here to me has been the assembling of people from all races, speaking diverse languages and accents. I have been impressed and delighted myself personally, to meet brothers in the Church from such places as Southern Brazil, South Tokyo, Southwell, Southwest Tanganyika, South of Ireland, and South Wales. And I stand before you all tonight, speaking the language of Southern Alaska.

There is a little town on the southeastern coast of Alaska called Skagway. Some of you may be familiar with Skagway. It had a great history in the early Gold Rush, but today it is a small community. Twenty-five miles from Skagway, there is a pass through the mountains called the White Pass. It has always made a very great impression on me. The water that drops—considerable rain falls in that area—on the southern slopes of the White Pass goes simply twenty-five miles into the Lynn Canal and into the Pacific Ocean. But any water that falls two feet on the other side of the White Pass goes down through the district of the Yukon twenty-two hundred miles through Alaska to the river mouth at St. Michael and into the Pacific Ocean. Just a few feet makes all that difference. Yet that water ultimately reaches its destination.

For some reason or other, a great many of us in the Anglican Communion all over the world have been singularly blessed. For some reason our Lord has chosen us to be specially privileged to hear His truth, His Gospel, His teachings, to live it all of our lives, to be born into it. Yet there are others, thousands and millions, scattered all over the globe who have never heard it. Our Lord surely means that His Kingdom and His truth shall go to all peoples all over the earth. You and I who have heard, who have had the privilege, who have had the opportunity are surely the ones that He calls to bear that message. Some may be near, like the shores of the Pacific and the Lynn Canal; some may be in far off places as yet unreached. But surely you and I, at home and abroad, are the ones whom the Lord calls to see that the flow of Christianity goes like the waters of the Yukon, ultimately to its destination in the Kingdom of God. Since Christianity has come to us very easily and quickly, many of us, and I speak now for the American Church, are under a strong compulsion to guide the life of the world into the path of the Church.

When I served as a priest in the missionary district of Alaska in the little Arctic coast village of Point Hope, I had the dubious privilege of making my visitations by dog team. After a good many rounds of a four-hundred-mile circuit, I got fairly familiar with a dog team, and on one occasion, I was going from the little village of Kotzebue up to Noatak. It is an easy trip, fifty miles up the river, and I had made it many times in one day, so I very foolishly left my camping equipment in Kotzebue to lighten the load. But after I got a few miles out on the trail, I found that new snow had fallen and the trail was slow. The sled began to drag and so did the priest behind it. Night fell pretty quickly, a long way from Noatak. Well, in that area, we have trees, though most of the Arctic coast is barren. It was not long before I got

off the beaten trail and out into the trees, and the snow was waist deep. I floundered and searched and wandered all over the place for an hour or so and never could find the trail. Finally I felt I must camp somehow, using my sled-cover as a tent. But as I was looking for a shelter in the trees, I felt firm footing under my feet and I realized that while looking for a camping place, I had stumbled back on the trail. So I got my dogs and sled on this little hard place and I walked ahead of them for over an hour, keeping very careful watch on that narrow trail. Then to my wonderful pleasure and surprise, I found a broken trail that some woodcutter had left. After that it was simple and I could get back behind the sled. In another hour or so, we saw the lights of the village and our destination was in sight.

I have thought many times how that illustrates in a very simple way our task as Christians to the peoples of the world. There are millions of people, you and I know, who have never found anything certain in this life. They are not only in the unevangelized places of the world; they are among us. And we can see if we look very closely, that they are seeking something, seeking something that only our Lord Jesus Christ can give them. They are seeking something that they can follow, and you and I as Christians, as missionaries, at home and abroad, have the unique responsibility and opportunity of pointing out the hard and fast trail to them.

I think sometimes we emphasize too much the unevangelized millions. I do not mean that they are not important, that they are not the most important challenge the Church has, but we are very prone in the Anglican Communion to extend ourselves just as far as possible. We go into remote areas and baptize. We bring into the Christian faith vast numbers of people, and then we put one man to take care of ten or fifteen missions, and we expect them to go along the Way of Life, having an occasional service once a year. I believe that veteran missionaries will agree with me that it is a lot harder, really, in the long run to keep people Christian than it is to make them Christian. We have as equal an obligation to the people of the world, who look to us now for spiritual strength and whom we have led into the Christian faith, and that is about all, as we do to the millions of people who have not yet heard the truth of the Gospel. It does little good simply to baptize someone, saying "Now you are a Christian, and we go on to others." We have an equal and pressing responsibility to those who have simply heard the truth of the Gospel and have had no opportunity to see the lights of the Kingdom of God ahead. And so what is the message of the Anglican Communion to the people of the world?

We talk a great deal and we are certainly justly proud of our histori-

cal traditions. We revel in the matchless prose and atmosphere of the *Book of Common Prayer*. We have every reason to be wonderfully proud that we have such a tradition, a history dating back to the very beginning, that we are old. We date back to our Lord Jesus Christ. But we cannot simply go to the peoples of the world and say that we are old, that we have a wonderful Prayer Book. There is something more vital and you know it; I know it—that first of all we have to have the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, His saving grace to all men.

There is a story told about Bishop Rowe, a great saint in the Church in Alaska, that once he was traveling through the interior of Alaska by dog team. He had very few dogs. And as he came along by a village and stopped overnight, one of his best dogs died. He could not make the trip with just the two dogs left, so he got the chief of the village to go around and look at all the dogs that might be available for sale, in order that he might pick out the best one to add to his team. There was not very much choice given to the Bishop. Dogs were scarce then, but several dogs were brought and one looked pretty good to him. He said, "Chief, how about that one?" The chief looked this dog over very carefully, and he saw immediately that there were some signs of rather advanced age in the dog. He said, "Well, Bishop, him look pretty good, but him too long time dog." It is very likely if we go to the people of the world, stressing only our historical traditions, our Prayer Book and our ageless matchless ritual, that people might say we are too long time dog, too!

It is only as we go out (and I do not speak now only of missionaries who go to the field—I speak of all of us, everyone who has ever been baptized; everyone who has even given a dime to the missions is a missionary) with a personal knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, go out in witness and say, "I know. This I know, that we carry the power of the Gospel. This is the faith that is within me." I have observed in my very brief experience in the mission field that the missionary who is the most effective always is the one who goes into a small community and lives as a Christian. He may preach very little, and he may talk very little, but he is a living witness. Living the Christian faith is the finest example that the Church could possibly have because we cannot go to the world with second-hand experience. We cannot go to the world simply with handed-down traditions, although they are very, very important. Not long ago I went to one of our Indian villages where there is a chief who has quite a reputation all over the territory for being a weather prophet. He really has an uncanny ability, apparently, to predict what the weather is going to be, and so I went to him and

asked him about the weather to come because I have a particular interest in it since I do a great deal of flying. He turned to me and said, "Bishop, it is going to be plenty cold winter." I said, "Chief, how do you know? I realize you can't tell the average man the secrets of your weather observation, but I am your bishop. After all, you can confide in me. How is it that you can tell that the weather is going to be cold?" "Well," he said, "Bishop, you know our trader here, you know Johnny Fredericks, he always give me contract to cut his wood. Last year he ordered little wood. We had warm winter. This year he order plenty wood; it sure to be cold winter."

Well, it so happened the winter was pretty cold, even though I found out from Johnny Fredericks later that he was planning to enlarge his store; that was why he had ordered more wood. The point I am making is simply this: that the chief was basing his experience in weather on somebody else's experience. He did not have any personal knowledge. It was simply second-hand experience, and there is a great dangerous tendency in our Church today (and I am speaking of the missionary Church of Alaska, the only area with which I am familiar) of sitting back on our traditions, on what we have inherited from our saints, from our forefathers and from our parents, and simply training our people, teaching the Ten Commandments and the Office of Instruction at the time of Confirmation and not bringing to them any saving knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. In that there is no personal experience, it is second-hand. We cannot go to the people of the world and say, "Here is the answer to the world's problems," simply with the experience we have inherited from others, no matter how great it may be. We have to have it ourselves.

Last winter, during a very cold spell, I was called late at night to visit a sick Indian girl. She had tuberculosis of both lungs. She had asked that I come to see her. When I came to her bed I could see by the look in her eyes that she was afraid. She was terribly afraid. She loved the Church; she had been going to church all her life. I had a few prayers with her and stood by her bed and she looked up at me and said, "Bishop, tell me about Jesus." I thank God at that moment that my mother and my father had told me about Jesus, that I had something to tell that girl. I have seen clergymen, laymen, and laywomen of our Church who would be terribly embarrassed if someone asked them to tell him about Jesus. I was thankful to Almighty God that I could tell Myra what Jesus means to me in my own life, in my personal experience. I thank Almighty God that He used me, and not by any virtue that I had, to bring certainty and comfort and assurance into her heart, because that basically is all the Church can bring.

I do not mean to say that an emotional experience of our Lord is all that we offer or is enough. That alone can never sustain us through our lives. We have to have the family of the Church, the Sacraments, all the sustaining grace to live, but I tell you in the missions of the world and in the parishes at home, the only real power that the Church can offer the world today is to tell them about Jesus, to give them a personal knowledge of Him.

I have been thinking a good deal in recent months about why we seem to support so little of our missionary enterprise. I live in it; I see it every day; it is terribly real to me. I cannot understand it, and then the answer comes rather sadly and truly—most of us really do not think missions are very important. We really are not greatly concerned about the peoples of the world. It does not make a whole lot of difference to the average Anglican whether the people of our world hear about our Lord or not. We have a casual interest, but basically we are not sure whether we care; it is not really important. In our missionary promotional material, with all apologies to any promotional department, we emphasize in our missionary fields our hospital work, our colleges, our schools, our social service work. We are almost embarrassed to ask somebody to give a nickel so that men can hear about Jesus. Simply, that is geared to the people. After all, we in the Church, like everyone else, give the people what they respond to best. But there is an urgency in the world today, a tremendous urgency, that we preach the Gospel, that we bring to the people of the world the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and I pray to Almighty God that our first emphasis and our basic strength may be simply that.

Again I am asked by individuals, "What has the Church accomplished at home and abroad? What can we show for our efforts through the centuries?" Well, first of all, we might point out that God has appointed us as His agents, not as His judges and evaluators. Our Lord and the early Apostles planted, millions and millions of people have watered, and God alone reaps the increase. He alone sees the total impact of our work. How do we know what has been accomplished in China? How do we know what has been accomplished in Alaska, or in Ceylon, or in Africa? We cannot judge by individuals, and only God knows, and He knows the pattern that He has set up is the power that can save the world. We can never expect to see the whole pattern ourselves—we are mortals—but God does.

Not long ago I was flying my plane, "The Blue Box," given me by the Woman's Auxiliary, over an area in Alaska known as the Minto Flats. The Minto Flats are quite a low area of about fifty miles, where there are no hills. The weather was not very good. The ceiling was about

six or seven hundred feet, but it was good enough for flying in that area because I knew there were no obstructions that could impede the progress of my airplane. I did know, too, that about fifty miles ahead there was a low range of hills, far higher than any clouds that I could see at that present time. And I knew that it would not be possible for me to get through those hills if I had clouds like that to go into. But I was not going blindly into those hills. Just at the end of that range of hills is a little town called Nenana, and the Civil Aeronautics Administration has a weather station there: I had been talking to the weather observer who told me that there in Nenana and all along that range of hills the weather was good, the clouds were high, and I would have no trouble, and I was sure to break out of those low clouds long before I got to the hills, because he could see the whole area. He could see what was ahead. I had a passenger with me who was pretty nervous. He did not know what I knew; he did not know what the plane could do. All he could see around him were those low clouds and little rainstorms. He was terribly afraid but I was not afraid, and soon we broke out of the clouds just as the man who knew, who was in a position to know, had promised that we would. In our world today, the Christian Church may seem to be flying pretty low. The clouds around us are dark, and there are hundreds and thousands and millions of people, who like Jim Ryan, my passenger, are a little bit afraid or a whole lot afraid. They cannot see the way ahead very far; they forget that God has called us to leave it in His hands. We forget that, just as the weather observer was there ahead of me knowing what was ahead and telling me to come on, our Lord Jesus Christ stands ahead of us in our missionary enterprise. He knows what we have done; He knows what we will do; He knows what we can do. He calls you and me as missionaries of the Church, in our homes, in our churches, in the far corners of the earth, to press forward toward the mark of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

HYMN

THY Kingdom come, O God!
Thy rule, O Christ, begin!

ST. CECILIA

ADDRESS

BY

THE RIGHT REVEREND HIYANIRINDU LAKDASA

JACOB DE MEL, M.A.

Lord Bishop of Kurunagala

Fathers and Brethren, Good People:

Tonight it falls to my lot to say a word about the Province of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon in Southeast Asia. We have been very busy in Southeast Asia in the last few years completing a process which I gather was started in 1773 in this country by a gentleman called George Washington. We have at the moment completed the work of Washington. We shall shortly, I hope, be looking for a Lincoln, for the situation is indeed confused. There is much tension between that which is old—very old—for our tradition goes back, it is now discovered by the excavators of the Indus Valley culture, for no less than fifty centuries. Disturbingly new things have come to us and created a renaissance in our ancient nation—ideas that have come from you, inventions which your fertile brains have discovered. For some of these things, we thank you very much. I will not say anything about the others. It would be most ungracious, and I think at this time recriminations must be over and the nations of the world must learn how to live together as one world.

So we struggle for a new pattern of life and the use of new techniques in order to bring a little more dignity and plenty to our very, very thickly populated countries. As I stand here, I am conscious of being, in a sense, the representative of one-fourth of the world's population. Over five hundred million of my countrymen stand behind me in a great shadow, as it were. There has been much confusion in the taking up of the reins of political independence after the crisis of war. You know how war can corrupt, and to become independent at such a time of moral confusion has not been easy. There has been, in many ways, a great weakening of some of our moral standards. There has been a real national revival in cultural rather than religious and spiritual ways. It is no use trying to hide that we are profoundly ashamed of corruption where it is found within our borders. There is a great deal of materialism. Commercial morality is not what it ought to be in many places. We have got independence, but always there is the bondage of sin. How shall we break it? The very things, the very weapons whereby we won our independence, may turn

against us to place our independence in the bondage of sinfulness. But one thing I must say in thanksgiving, and that is that of all the things that came to us from the West, the best was the Christian character lived out by many people, clerical and lay. I would speak with especial and deep affection and veneration of the spiritual fathers that begat us, the missionaries. From your nations came to us Holy Baptism and Holy Order. We do think with immense gratitude of those who came to preach the Gospel to us and who taught us not only by what they said, but supremely by what they were. I am conscious that in this hall there are some such people who have retired and come back to the country of their birth. May I say to them how deeply the Indian people feel gratitude for all they have done for us, and for those who in the days of our independence and gathering responsibility have decided to stay with us when it has not always been easy. May God reward you! We can do no such thing adequately.

And so in the midst of all this confusion, great opportunity is to be found for the Church. Small in strength are we—two and a half per cent in India; less than that in Pakistan and Burma; and nine percent in Ceylon—but behind us are all the resources of our Blessed Lord, risen, ascended, glorified, who has sent His Holy Spirit to dwell in us and to move us forward. The small Christian Church, what is it to do? When independence came to India, a certain missionary interviewed two great Indian leaders and asked them what they thought the chances were of the Christian Church surviving in India. One of them, a rather religiously inflexible person, said, "Yes, you will survive, but you will survive through being absorbed into Hinduism." Now you and I cannot call that survival. The other, a man of much wider outlook, said, "Vindicate yourselves!" And we do not vindicate ourselves or try to vindicate ourselves merely to survive, but in order to serve a Master in Heaven. So, in the care of the leper, in the care of the deaf and the blind, in the nursing and the healing of the sick, the Christian Church does a great deal to emulate her Sacred Master.

Our work in health and education may in some ways be threatened by the omniscient state which loves to get its fingers into everything. It is not always mere religious prejudice. It is often simply the itch which politicians seem to have to control everything, and frequently to do it so badly. They cannot bear to see people who are not politicians doing a really good job. Of course, I am sure this does not happen in the United States! But the Church is bearing that incomparable witness of doing all of this because she is conscious of her mission from her Master in heaven, and of ministering to the suffering Body of our Lord. I do not think it is possible for people in this country (and

may God continue to prosper you; I do not envy you your prosperity) to imagine countries where a large majority of the people are suffering from hunger and where there are terrible pestilences and diseases. I, myself, like my brother bishops from India, have known what pestilence can do. My mind goes vividly back twenty years to the time when the angel of death passed over our fair island of Ceylon with a malarial sword, slaying eighty thousand and more people. Some of these diseases have been dreadful, and all that is very present in our life. But we are not afraid. Our Lord said, "In the world ye shall have tribulation." We are not to be impatient about these things. We can face poverty, difficulty, danger, even the possibilities of political pressure as did St. Stephen in his difficulties. He could see the heavens open and the Son of Man standing up at the right hand of God. Yes, standing up to help His servant.

I want briefly, in conclusion, to comment on four points which were made to an American missionary who told me of this. Many years ago when he went to India and asked a very great Indian, "What would you, a non-Christian, say to me as a young Christian missionary, as I start work in your land?" the first thing he said was, "Be more like your own Jesus." On that, I will comment last. Secondly, he said, "Tell those who become Christians that they must behave as though they belonged to their own country." *Nationality*, not nationalism, is a sacred thing, because it was chosen for us by God Himself. It is only by Christians living in their own lands, trying to bring the glory of their nation to Christ, that the Church can possess the glory of all the nations. We must not, ever again, be worthy of the rebuke that was made of us some years ago when they said Christians were foreigners in their own land and aliens in their own home. That evil charge has been, I think, completely dispelled by the loyalty that we showed to our own country at the time of our independence. We never asked for protection from anybody else. While we made it quite clear to our fellow countrymen that we could not join in the exercise of reviling other nations, because it is unchristian so to do, and so many of our own brethren belong to other nations, thank God, we solidly stood by our own people and the men and women of our blood and the culture and tradition that have come down to us. We made it clear that if our country after independence went forward, we would go forward with her. If she went down, we would go down with her, but we would never, never desert her.

And then he went on to say, "Study other religions and not only your own." How necessary that is. We have nothing to fear if we believe that Christianity possesses revealed Truth. We often find that

our Lord came not to destroy but to fulfil. We find that the honorable gropings of our philosophic forefathers were forever enlightened and finally put to rest by the Incarnation and all that came from that glorious act of self-abnegation when our Lord for us men and for our salvation came down from Heaven. We have nothing to fear, but we need the help of good educators and teachers, and people of that sort.

He went on to say, "Don't discard any of your dogmas in the hope of making cheap converts." We live in an age when people are prone to pare down Christianity. I, for myself, see that it is quite useless to offer a reduced Christianity as the hope of the world. I cannot have anything to do with that. There is that continuous spiritual education which God gave, beginning with Abraham, and we make fragments of what is a continuous process and pick out favorite chunks of it, as though life began for us in a particular century. There is that long, long divine process beginning at Abraham, going through the Old Testament (and what was latent there becomes patent in the New Testament), going on through the Acts of the Apostles and then through the Apostolic Church of which we are a part. It is the glory of the Anglican tradition that its ordered liberty takes note, not only of new thought, but of the old foundations of the faith delivered to us. And so we cannot pare it down because of a desire for missionary statistics or because of ecumenical impatience. We cannot compromise on things which are absolutely fundamental, or else our part of the world is going finally to be left at the mercy of a kind of reduced Christianity which can too easily wander along the paths of syncretism.

And so it is necessary for us to hold up the Lord Jesus, to be more like the Lord Jesus, that men may see Him and choose Him because of our witness. For that, we must build up all over the world a great Church which will produce holiness. The accent must not be on efficiency, but on holiness. Holiness is the unanswerable argument, to the people of the East at any rate. The Sadhu, the Monk, the Naked Fakir, these are the men who through our history have always aroused the reverence of our people at their deepest levels. I long to see a Church growing which will bring the genius of all peoples, including the Indian people, nearer and nearer to God to bring their gifts to His feet; a Church that will teach men not only to reason, but to adore. And when their eyes are opened and they see the glory of God through the beauty of the worship of Holy Church, they will do what the Wise Men of the East did. Do you realize what they did, as you read about them, when they saw our Lord in the arms of Mary, His Mother? They fell down and worshipped Him—and then offered gifts. You see, it

was worship and adoration that unlocked the caskets of their riches. There are great veins of intellectual gold; there is tremendous devotion like the incense; there is the myrrh coming from self-discipline—all of which our people must someday offer in the Kingdom of God. These gifts are to be offered to our Lord when a great Church goes forward teaching men to look up from all the confusion of this world towards the heavenly places, to adore the Lord Jesus, to worship Almighty God. So, good people, to us comes the lesson to think glorious thoughts of God and to serve Him with a quiet mind.

¶ *The Bishop Coadjutor of Minnesota, The Right Reverend Hamilton Hyde Kellogg, D.D., will ask the Congregation's generosity in its Offering for the missionary work of the Church.*

DURING THE OFFERING, ANTHEMS

Turn back, O man

Holst

Thanks be to thee

Handel

¶ *At the conclusion of the Offering, the Congregation will stand and join in singing the Doxology.*

THE DOXOLOGY

OLD HUNDRETH

THE PRAYERS

The Most Reverend Walter Foster Barfoot, D.D.

Lord Archbishop of Rupert's Land and Metropolitan, Primate of All Canada

O God, who hast made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the whole earth, and didst send thy blessed Son to preach peace to them that are far off and to them that are nigh; grant that all men everywhere may seek after thee and find thee. Bring the nations into thy fold, pour out thy Spirit upon all flesh, and hasten thy kingdom; through the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

And now, brethren, summing up all our petitions, and all our thanksgivings, in the words which Christ hath taught us, we make bold to say,

¶ *Then shall the Congregation join in saying*

THE LORD'S PRAYER

THE BLESSING

The Most Reverend Michael Hinsuke Yashiro, S.T.D.
Presiding Bishop of the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai, Bishop of Kobe

The Almighty Lord, who is a most strong tower to all those who put their trust in him, to whom all things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth, do bow and obey; be now and evermore your defence; and make you know and feel, that there is none other Name under heaven given to man, in whom, and through whom, you may receive health and salvation, but only the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

HYMN

WHEN I survey the wondrous cross

Where the young Prince of Glory died

ROCKINGHAM

Few present at the Mass Meeting in the St. Paul Auditorium will forget either the deep impression made by the missionary speakers from three continents, or the spirit that animated the congregation as with a single voice the thousands present sang the hymns and said the Lord's Prayer.

The offering of \$2557.87, like the offerings made at other Congress services, was given to the Diocese of Victoria Hong Kong for relief work with refugees, and to the work of the Church of the Province of West Africa.

THE CLOSING SESSION

On Friday morning, August 13, at 9:30 the final general session of the Congress was opened with prayer by the PRESIDING OFFICER. DR. SEELEY, for the Editorial Committee, offered a series of resolutions that were seconded by BISHOP ALLEN:

This Congress desires to express its deep sense of gratitude to all who have participated in the planning of the Congress: to the Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, Presiding Bishop, for his leadership and direction; to the Rt. Rev. Walter H. Gray and his Committee on Arrangements for their careful attention to every detail for the smooth running of the Congress; to the Rt. Rev. Thomas N. Carruthers and the members of the Program Committee for the provision of a stimulating and inspiring program, and to the members of the Central Committee who assisted in its formulation; to the Rt. Rev. Lauriston L. Scaife and his Committee on Solicitations which made the holding of this Congress financially possible; to the Rt. Rev. Stephen F. Bayne, Jr. for his wise direction of the discussion groups; to the Rev. Canon John V. Butler, Jr. for his extensive work on publicity; to the Rev. Canon Edward N. West for his inspired planning of the services of the Congress; and to the Rev. Powel M. Dawley for his painstaking work in the editing of the *Report*.

This Congress desires to place on record its sincere and heartfelt thanks to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and to all who have addressed the Congress. The messages which they have given to us have stirred our hearts and minds and it will be our endeavour to pass on something of this inspiration to our several parts of the Anglican Communion.

This Congress desires to express to the Dean of The Cathedral Church of St. Mark, Minneapolis, and to the Churchwardens and the Cathedral Chapter, its sincere thanks for the many courtesies that have been extended to us during the Congress. The use of The Cathedral for our daily worship, the most generous provision of the Cathedral Parish House for our daily needs, and the unfailing kindness of all of the officials of The Cathedral have done much to add to the fellowship of the Congress and to the comfort and enjoyment of its members. We would add our thanks to Mr. Edward Berryman and the choir of The Cathedral for the contribution which they have made day by day to the worship of the Congress.

This Congress desires to express to the Rt. Rev. Stephen E. Keeler, Bishop of Minnesota, our great sense of debt to him for

his graciousness and kindness as host to the Congress. Through him we would express to the Bishop Coadjutor and to the people of the Diocese of Minnesota our real gratitude for all that they have done to make this Congress possible. Their generosity in money, time and energy has meant much to us in every way, and will never be forgotten by those who have enjoyed its fruits.

This Congress desires to express to Mr. Valentine Wurtele, Chairman, and to Mr. John W. Gregg and Mr. John H. Meyers, Vice Chairmen, and to all the members of the Minnesota Executive Committee our heartfelt thanks for the immense work which they have done in the preparation and carrying through of this Congress. Their wise and far-seeing planning, their consideration of every means to ensure our comfort and well-being, their generous provision for our entertainment, and their anticipation of our every need have resulted in a Congress which is memorable in every way. To them and to all the people of Minneapolis and St. Paul who have helped with transportation and hospitality, and in any other way, we offer gratitude which goes far beyond anything that words can express.

This Congress desires to express to the Minister and Board of Trustees of the Hennepin Avenue Methodist Church its deep gratitude for their courtesy and hospitality in extending to us the facilities of the church for the sessions of the Congress. We rejoice in the spirit of Christian brotherhood which has prompted this generous action and pray for God's blessing on the work and worship of this church and its members. We would also express our thanks to the Rector, Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Paul's Episcopal Church; to the Minister and Board of Trinity Baptist Church; and to the Minister and Board of the Unitarian Church for providing facilities for the discussion groups.

This Congress desires to express to every Diocese and Parish of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America its gratitude for their unbounded generosity in making available funds both for the holding of the Congress and for bringing many of the delegates to it. This tangible expression of our brotherhood within the Anglican Communion has warmed our hearts and increased our sense of fellowship. We trust that we can repay something of our debt by taking back to our local areas a deeper vision of our common task in Christ's service and a renewed zeal in the furtherance of His Kingdom.

This Congress desires to express its thanks to the members of the Press for their unfailing courtesy and co-operation throughout the Congress.

To these resolutions of gratitude, which were passed with enthusiastic applause, the BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT added a motion thanking Dr. Seeley and all the members of his Editorial Committee for their constant labor during the sessions; and the BISHOP OF RIPON proposed a vote of appreciation to the members of the secretarial staff.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY then spoke feelingly to the resolution acknowledging the indebtedness of the Congress to the Bishop of Minnesota. At the general session on August 10 the desire of many of the delegates to leave some visible memorial of their visit to Minnesota had been made known, and it had been arranged that contributions might be made by members of the Congress who desired to do so. The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY now presented to the Bishop of Minnesota the sum of six hundred dollars, a mark of the gratitude of the delegates. In thanking the Congress and wishing its members an affectionate farewell, the BISHOP OF MINNESOTA informed the assembly that the offering would be used to purchase a processional cross that might be carried throughout the diocese at all diocesan services and ceremonies, a reminder of the comradeship that had come to exist between the Congress and the whole Diocese of Minnesota.

DR. SEELEY then offered the last resolution of the Editorial Committee:

Since this Congress has revealed the desirability of more frequent fellowship and consultation than now exists between members of the Anglican Communion, we endorse the suggestion made by the bishops at the Lambeth Conference in 1948, that an Anglican Congress be held at regular intervals. We ask the Presiding Officer of this Congress in consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury to take steps towards the appointment of a committee composed of bishops, priests and laity, representative of the whole Anglican Communion, to explore ways and means for the summoning of an Anglican Congress from time to time.

This resolution having been passed, DR. SEELEY introduced the chief business of the morning, consideration of the revised draft of the Congress findings on its four topics of study. After a brief recess, declared for the purpose of giving the delegates opportunity to study the final form of the report of the Editorial Committee, the PRESIDING OFFICER opened the statement to general discussion. So carefully had the drafting committee done its work, reflecting faithfully the tenor of previous discussions of preliminary statements on each of the four topics, and so skillfully had the suggestions from the Congress been worked into the final draft, that the opening remarks of the BISHOP OF DERBY (the Rt. Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson) expressing appreciation of the Committee's work met with prolonged applause.

The discussion of the report was brief. A number of suggestions were offered for changes and amendments—the majority of which concerned relatively minor points—and more than half of them were lost when put to the vote. At the conclusion of the discussion DR. SEELEY moved the adoption of the whole report with such amendments as had been passed, and by a unanimous vote the Congress accepted the following statement of its affirmations and findings:

REPORT OF THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE TO THE CONGRESS

At the outset, let us remind you about the nature of the work of the Congress. Its purposes were quite simple and clear—to bring together in common worship and prayer representatives of our world-wide Communion, to seek God's guidance therein, to establish and strengthen our fellowship, and to come to know, a little more deeply, our mind and will under the call of God.

There were four stages in our proceedings. We heard major addresses on our main topics; we discussed those topics in our twenty groups in the light of the addresses we had heard; the reports of the groups were then summarized in a few pages of findings; finally, the Congress as a whole heard, discussed, amended and received them in the form which follows.

It is important to remember this process and the reason for it while reading these pages of affirmation and resolution. The end in view was to give the Congress a quick way of discovering itself—of encountering and identifying its separate voices and attitudes, its several traditions, its multiplicity of peoples and experiences—and in that encounter to meet the principal fact of our Communion, its unity and its deep common life.

The findings themselves were necessarily formulated after only brief discussion and with no opportunity for preliminary study; we did not make theological history nor did we intend to. We set out to establish a community of mind and spirit among 657 separate people who did not know one another, yet who shared one family name. Our ten memorable days of companionship and common thought helped immeasurably to disclose that Household of Faith. Therefore, we submit this short account of our thinking, in no spirit of self-congratulation but, indeed, in the most sincere thanksgiving that, around this nucleus of agreement, God saw fit to build a warm and lasting comradeship among us.

OUR VOCATION

God calls our whole Anglican Communion to worship Him and to obey His will, to receive the gifts which He offers to us in Christ, and to proclaim and practise the Christian faith in the power of His Holy Spirit. Our answer to the call means a personal and corporate knowledge of Jesus Christ and active discipleship in every sphere of daily living.

The Anglican Communion is a fellowship of Churches at one and the same time Catholic in seeking to do justice to the wholeness of Christian truth, in emphasizing continuity through the Episcopate, and in retaining the historic Creeds and Sacraments of undivided Christendom; and Evangelical in its commission to proclaim the Gospel and in its emphasis on personal faith in Jesus Christ as Saviour. In loyalty to the New Testament it is free in its quest for truth, in the faith that Christ is the Lord of all truth.

Truly to be an Anglican is to combine within oneself both Catholic and Protestant traditions in a dynamic relationship. The tension between these different traditions becomes creative when it is held in charity. Indeed, a like expression of these different emphases should characterize the life of every diocese. If Anglicanism did not preserve variety in unity, it would make a poorer contribution to the Church Universal. It is our costly responsibility to hold together these loyalties in mutual forbearance, trust and co-operation in the Church's work and mission.

Fundamental to the nature of the Church is its evangelistic witness both in non-Christian and in nominally Christian lands. Through constant adherence to this primitive and permanent mission our Communion will obey its Lord and strengthen its fellowship. We therefore call all members of the Church to new dedication, that our witness may become increasingly effective and widespread.

Secondly, we identify ourselves with the Appeal to all Christian People made by the bishops at Lambeth in 1920, and we affirm the four principles of unity contained in the Lambeth Quadrilateral, namely: (1) the Holy Scriptures as the record of God's revelation of Himself to man, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith; (2) the Creed, commonly called Nicene, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and either it or the Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal Confession of belief; (3) the divinely instituted sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, as expressing for all the corporate life of the whole fellowship in and with Christ; (4) a

ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body.

Further, we rejoice in the fact that the several member Churches of the Anglican Communion are all constituent members of the World Council of Churches, and we wholeheartedly support our representatives in their contribution to its councils and to its various activities in Christian co-operation.

We appeal to all the Churches of the Anglican Communion to strengthen their support of the Ecumenical Movement and to promote common action and the furthering of unity among Christians of different Communions in their own local areas.

We request the Presiding Officer of this Congress to assure the Presidents of the World Council of Churches of our deep interest in the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches to be held at Evanston, and of our prayers for God's blessing upon that Assembly.

We suggest that an early evaluation be made by an officially appointed body in each member Church of the Anglican Communion of the situation as it is developing in the Church of South India, so that the Anglican Communion as a whole may have an informed understanding of this courageous venture in reunion. Both to those who have entered the Church of South India from our own Communion, and to those who have joined with them from other Communions, we would affirm our continual fellowship in prayer and in the service of Jesus Christ. We look forward to the day when full communion with them may be realized; and we hope and pray that in all Christendom Christ may lead us through obedience to His Spirit to fulfill His prayer for the unity of all His people.

Thirdly, we recommend that the Churches of the Anglican Communion take every opportunity for the building and strengthening of world-wide fellowship within our Communion. We especially affirm our fellowship with those Churches of our Communion which have been unable to be represented at this Congress.

We draw special attention to the value of the *Cycle of Intercession*; to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, the Central College of the Anglican Communion; to the spread of information through the *East and West Review*, *Pan-Anglican* and other means; and to the periodic issue of a United Statement on the Anglican Communion.

We welcome the formation, in accordance with the resolution of the Lambeth Conference of 1948, of the Council on Missionary Strategy, and trust that the meetings of the Council may lead to a

truly sacrificial support for the missionary task of the Church in every land.

II

OUR WORSHIP

Anglican worship is Scriptural in theology, intelligible in language and conduct, and corporate in expression. It must be the ordered worship of the Church. In our worship we accept by faith God's gift of Himself to us, and in praise, penitence and prayer we offer ourselves for His service, seeking to become instruments which He may use for the extension of His Kingdom.

The *Book of Common Prayer* is a principal bond of unity between and within the Anglican Churches, and is of high importance in interpreting our worship and doctrine to other Communion. While varieties in forms of worship are legitimate in our Communion, the degree of variation should not be such as to disrupt our unity. Where more than one language is in use in any diocese, public worship should normally follow a common form and so unite the people of various languages and races. Loyal obedience to the authority of the respective Provinces or Churches in the Uses which they permit is essential to the well-being of the Church. Unauthorized deviations from these Uses by individuals or groups are harmful to the life of the Church and make more difficult the sharing of the people in common worship. This should be stressed in the training of candidates for the ministry. At the same time a measure of authorized variety is in keeping with the traditions of the Church, and also provides opportunity for controlled experiment leading to revision in forms of worship. Moreover, we should encourage under due control informal devotional services and meetings for prayer which give opportunity for a freer expression of the spiritual life of the people and supplement the prescribed services of the Church.

We ask that when branches of our Communion revise their forms of worship they inform other branches and consult with them, so that we may both learn from one another and also remain in common accord on the essentials of our Anglican liturgical heritage. We recommend the preparation of a volume setting out and explaining the Uses of our various Churches.

We welcome the liturgical revival which is finding expression both in the Parish or Family Communion and in the rediscovery of the corporate nature of all public worship. Where the Parish Communion is made the principal act of common worship, the teaching

and prophetic function of the Church through the Ministry of the Word should be properly safeguarded. When the Parish Communion is held without the Office of Morning Prayer, we commend the suggestion in *A Liturgy for India* that psalms and readings from the Old Testament be included in the Communion service. At the same time we emphasize the devotional and evangelistic value of Morning and Evening Prayer and urge that they continue to hold their place in the corporate worship of the Church. We also draw attention to the nature of these services as Daily Offices and urge that the laity be made increasingly aware of their value for daily worship. If the corporate nature of public worship is to be fully realized, services must be audible; and full opportunity should be given to the congregation to take its part.

In the celebration of the Holy Communion we recognize and value the new emphasis on the humble offering of the Elements and Alms as exemplified in certain existing and proposed Anglican Uses. At other services where there is an offering of alms, its proper dignity should be observed as a part of the act of worship.

In our worship we must not neglect the evangelistic and educational task of the Church, both towards its own members and towards those to whom our worship is strange. There is a continual need for sermons and instructions to teach the congregation the nature and meaning of Christian worship. Children should learn their first worship within the home and should be brought at an early age into the common worship of the Church.

In the evangelistic work of the Church we should use the many opportunities which the Prayer Book itself affords in all its Offices. At the same time we welcome the use of simple evangelistic services adapted to the special needs of any local situation and the particular background of industrial and other groups in the community. We commend to the attention of the Churches the opportunities afforded by radio and television as means of education and evangelism and urge that full use be made of them.

The *Book of Common Prayer* embodies the Church's responsibility for moral and social welfare and is concerned with birth, marriage, death, sickness and health, education, good government and social justice. Because these concern the daily life of the people, any revision of the Occasional Offices and Special Prayers and Thanksgivings should be in language understandable by the people.

We need to emphasize the Prayer Book teachings on the nature and necessity of Holy Baptism and the related responsibilities of parents and godparents. The study of Christian Initiation encouraged

by the Lambeth Conference of 1948 requires to be carried further in its practical bearings upon situations in missionary areas and in areas nominally Christian. There should be exchange of the results of such study between the various parts of our Communion.

III

OUR MESSAGE

Salvation

God in Christ has overcome every power of evil. This victory is made effective for all men in Christ, who invites us to share in the hope and assurance which it brings. The Church, therefore, is called through all its members to proclaim this message to the world, the message of salvation. This gift of salvation is both deliverance from sin and from every force of evil, and also wholeness of body, mind and spirit for the individual and society both in time and in eternity. For each individual, wholeness of personality is realized through fellowship with God and man in the family life of the people of God. It is the missionary calling of the Church to lead all men, both within the Church and outside it, to fellowship with God in Christ; clergy and laity alike must share in this task.

There is an urgent need for more expository preaching of the Bible. Together with this there should be devotional study of the Bible by individuals and in the home, and teaching through group discussion and study. Through such means the Word of God becomes real to men and women in relation to the contemporary situation.

Christ calls us to a rekindled zeal for souls. This will find expression in our faithful waiting upon God in prayer, in the whole pastoral ministry of the clergy to those within and those without the Christian fellowship, and in a renewed sense of responsibility for witness in each community. In particular, preparation for Baptism and Confirmation offers opportunity to make clear that all are commissioned to witness for Christ through their daily life. The zeal for the spread of the Gospel should be informed and refreshed by group gatherings of clergy and laity in each congregation. We recommend such means as parish groups, parish week-ends, intensive training courses, retreats and parochial missions, as giving opportunities for instruction, discussion and commitment. Clergy and laity alike must recognize the share of the laity in the Church's missionary task; and the clergy must encourage and lead the laity in the proclamation to all peoples of the Gospel of salvation in Christ.

The Family

There is no area of life which is outside the sovereignty of God, but the family provides the first and always the central area for the development of the full Christian life. We must uphold with resolution the Christian standard of life-long monogamous marriage, and the mutual responsibility of parents and children. Such marriage will find its fulfilment and its joy in the common dedication to the service of Christ, and in the life of prayer through which such dedication is realized. Christian people must face the responsibilities of procreation in deliberate and thoughtful decision before God, bearing in mind both our duty not to limit the Christian family for any selfish reasons and also the world-wide social issues of food supplies and population. Further, we call on Church members never to submit to any marriage bond on conditions which would deny the loyalties and responsibilities of a Christian home or their Anglican Church.

We rejoice in the large number of successful marriages, so many of which are founded in Christian commitment. Nevertheless, the number of homes broken through divorce emphasizes the serious responsibility of the Church for pastoral counselling in preparation for marriage and parenthood; and the clergy should receive adequate training to this end. Where homes have in fact been broken, the Church must recognize and maintain its pastoral work in the ministry of forgiveness. When children for one reason or another have lost the security of the home, every effort must be made to provide them with the love and understanding which they need. In strengthening the life of the home and in aiding those who are faced with difficulties of any kind, there are tasks in which clergy, trained lay workers, and all who are happily married can and should share.

The Church is both a family and a community of families. Therefore in the organization of the parish, while we should minister to groups of special age or sex, we should avoid activities which might disrupt family unity, and should give full opportunity for families to join together in the life and worship of the Church. Similarly, members of the Church should use their influence to see that the State respects and encourages the life of the family, and does nothing to override the proper responsibilities of parents and children in the home.

In order to uphold the solidarity of the Christian family, the Church needs to maintain its traditional insistence on Christian education in schools and colleges. Where, in the general secularization of education, the Church still has educational institutions these should be

carefully preserved; at the same time the Church must seek more effective means for Christian teaching within the educational institutions of the State.

Since one function of Christian education is to ensure that there shall not be wanting a supply of fit persons to serve God faithfully in Church and State, and since in every area of the Anglican Communion such persons are needed in ever greater numbers, it is the duty of clergy and laity, parents and teachers, to ensure that young people are confronted with the challenge of Christ as the Lord of all life and taught to regard their life work in terms of divine vocation, whether that vocation leads to secular occupation or to the Sacred Ministry of the Church.

The sanctity, the health and the well-being of the family is seriously threatened by inadequate housing conditions, which both cause strain in family relations and militate against the proper increase of the family. We therefore call on Christian people everywhere to rouse the social conscience in bringing influence to bear on public and private enterprise to supply adequate housing in every area where it is needed.

Race Relations

Recognizing our common membership in the family of God, we express our shame and grief over the tensions in race relations caused by discrimination, economic differences and the real poverty of so many of our brothers. We reaffirm the statement on race relations of the Lambeth Conference of 1948, and are penitent for our failure to put it into full effect. We urge members of the Church to continue to witness strongly and wisely against all forms of discrimination, to work in each land for justice in racial relations, and to teach the full implications of our faith with regard to race. Those living in multi-racial areas must put Christian principles into practice by improving social relations between people of different colour. In the work of the Church we should welcome people of any race at any service conducted by a priest or layman of any ethnic origin, and bring them into the full fellowship of the congregation and its organizations.

The Citizen

In the providence of God the State is necessary to defend the community from chaos, and the Church must bear witness to this fact. There is laid upon Christian people the duty to accept their political responsibility by taking full part in the life of the State. This responsibility may be manifested in a number of ways: by participation in

government, local and national; by exercising Christian vocations in the State and in voluntary welfare services; by creating a Christian public opinion; by teaching the social implications of Christian doctrine; by supporting in prayer and fellowship and action those whose security or livelihood is threatened by their loyal stand for Christian principles.

Nevertheless, when the State denies or rejects the sovereignty of God, its power becomes a menace to God's order and it then becomes the duty of the Church to affirm the rule of God. We deny that the individual exists for the State, but assert that one of the principal ends of the State is the development of personality, which requires man's freedom under God. Therefore, in the contemporary world we make two affirmations:

(1) We believe that God has created the power of the atom for the furtherance of His purposes. Therefore, it is the duty of the Christian citizen to do his utmost in prayer and influence to the end that the nations of the world use nuclear energy only for God's peaceful and creative purposes.

(2) We affirm the statement of the Lambeth Conference of 1948 that while a State must take the precautions it regards as necessary to protect good order and peace from all subversive movements, it is the special duty of the Church to oppose the challenge of the Marxian theory of Communism by sound teaching and the example of a better way; and that the Church, at all times and in all places, should be a fearless witness against political, social and economic injustice.

IV

OUR WORK

The calling of the Church is both to lead men and women to Christ in the fellowship of the Church and to create throughout the world social conditions more fully in accord with the will of God as revealed in Jesus Christ.

Partnership

Partnership in these tasks begins in the parish. The worshipping community must express its worship in more effective witness for Christ in the immediate environment.

In the wider work of the Church the conception of "older" and "younger" churches is giving way to a conception of churches in

partnership, learning from one another and helping one another in a common missionary task. Any advantage of resources on either side in spiritual experience, manpower, or material means must be used for mutual aid.

Growth is essential to the very life of the Church. The whole Church is called to be a missionary Church, and to give men and money for the fulfillment of that evangelistic task.

With the speed and ease of modern transportation there is constant travel from land to land for work and recreation. This gives opportunity for Christian witness and for strengthening the Christian community across the boundaries of race and nation. Wherever possible Anglicans should be given letters of introduction to the Church in the land to which they go.

The fact that the missionary task is world-wide makes the closest co-operation in the use of our resources imperative. The Church should explore possibilities of greater co-operation within our Communion in the provision of Christian literature and stronger support of the Bible Societies, through St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, and in such special ministries as the care of seamen.

Witness

The Church is Holy, as well as Catholic and Apostolic. Therefore dedication and sanctification of personal and public life is the means whereby we extend the redemptive power of Christ in the world. We are called to a life of absolute commitment and sacrifice.

A Church which lives for itself denies its Lord. Our witness must reach out from the parish through the homes into the surrounding community by the attitudes and behaviour of Christians to their fellow men in every walk of life. Such witness must be made through the spoken word in ways that are convinced and well informed, but our deeds speak as loudly as our words. Therefore, the witness must be made through the qualities of character and conduct which we take into our daily work.

We must learn the language of our contemporary world so that we may make the eternal truth of the Gospel intelligible to the men of our time.

Christians must show forth the love of Christ in their concern for those less privileged than themselves in the Christian and the non-Christian world. They will both work themselves and call all men to work with them for the poor, the afflicted, the refugees and all who are in distress in any part of the world.

Vocation

Our service of Christ and our witness to Him will be fulfilled in a variety of vocations:

(1) Through all the dioceses of our Communion more men are needed for the ministry of the Church. The claim of the Sacred Ministry should be presented by every means to both older and younger people. It is urgent that in every land there should be a strong and well-trained indigenous ministry. The Churches with an older and stronger tradition of theological education should give their utmost help to the training of the ministry of the younger Churches with whom they are in partnership.

Candidates for the ministry need a living personal conviction, a thorough grounding in the Christian tradition, and far more realistic understanding of what is involved in making the Christian message intelligible and relevant.

(2) Men and women are needed for various forms of Christian service, both full-time and part-time, in the work of the Church itself. Such vocations include that to the Religious Life, the work of readers and catechists, and of doctors, nurses, social workers and teachers in the institutions of the Church. In order that the clergy may be freer for their life of prayer, teaching and pastoral care, the laity should be granted and should take increased responsibility for finance and administration, but they must also share with the clergy in the work of witness. We recognize the calling to a life of prayer and intercession by many who cannot share in the more active work of the Church.

(3) Work for the Church is not necessarily the same thing as "church work." Christians are called to serve Christ by good work well done in the jobs by which they earn their living.

(4) There is a need for Christian scholars, both in the fields of advanced learning and research, and in the staffing of schools, particularly in lands where education is backward. In Christian study, while we affirm the essentials of the faith, we should avoid giving the impression that the Church has easy answers for every question, and we should explore with humility the truths which God may yet have to reveal.

(5) In Christ there is neither male nor female, as there is neither bond nor free. Women who are wives and mothers are fulfilling a God-given vocation of vital importance. All should have an equal place with men in the Christian fellowship and in the lay work and witness of the Church.

Finally, we remember that while the individual is called to his own personal loyalty to Christ, he acts in free partnership with his fellow members of the Church. In a world where mass pressures threaten the sense of personal responsibility and where individuals are all too often lonely and isolated amid the crowd, the Church should provide that community where men and women may both discover their freedom in the service of Christ and use it in love and fellowship.

* * * * *

Such are some of the matters that have been uppermost in our minds during these ten days in which we have prayed and worked together. We record them, not because they represent the considered conclusions of long study, but rather that they may serve as reminders to all members of our Communion of some of those areas of the Church's life that demand further and more thoughtful exploration in the days which lie ahead.

With the adoption of the report the general session was adjourned until 3:00 P.M. At that time the delegates assembled to hear the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY read a brief summary of the deliberations and decisions of the Advisory Council on Missionary Strategy that were communicated to the regional Churches through their Metropolitans.

A message was then read from the REV. ROLAND KOH on behalf of the Bishop and Standing Committee of the Diocese of Hong Kong, expressing their gratitude to the Congress for devoting half the offerings made at Congress Services to the labors of that diocese in ministering to refugees. Similar thanks were expressed by the BISHOP OF GAMBIA AND THE RIO PONGAS (the Rt. Rev. Roderic N. Coote) on behalf of the representatives of the Church of the Province of West Africa for the half of the offerings given to the work of the Church in that Province.¹

All final business concluded, the PRESIDING OFFICER requested the BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT to read a Congress Message that had been prepared for adoption by the delegates:

THE CONGRESS MESSAGE

From our Congress here in Minneapolis, we—657 Churchmen and Churchwomen of the Anglican Communion—send a message of thankful comradeship to all the forty millions of our scattered brotherhood the world around. To you at home, in your churches . . . to you in the military services, who are deeply in our prayers . . . to you who

¹ The offerings from all Congress services totalled \$8028.97.

in a thousand lonely places quietly serve in faithful duty . . . to all who bear our name or give us fellowship, grace be unto you and peace.

I

We say, before anything else, that the certain assurance of God's calling of us and of the wonderful reality of our Anglican family is the greatest fruit of our Congress. We have prayed and shared in the Holy Communion day by day; we have heard great addresses; we have discussed them and tried to express our common thoughts as best we could; we have entered into a new and rich experience of fellowship. In all these things we have come to see, unmistakably and clearly, that our world-wide family of Churches is a reality, under God, and that He has a clear work for us to do.

We commend to you with all our hearts a study of the addresses soon to be published. We do so because of what was given us here, but even more because we wish for you what we ourselves have discovered in our discussions: that the Spirit is indeed leading us into all truth. God reigns! And in His Providence He lays a commanding duty upon us to bear our witness. It is a witness to freedom, to the truth which makes men free, to our Household of Faith wherein we hold together things old and new.

II

We say to you, as loyal members of your congregations, that it is only through loyalty to God that men receive His gifts. Lukewarm Churchmen, Christians unwilling to yield themselves to the discipline of their discipleship, will never find what God has promised. But in response to faith God's promises do not fail. We do not claim that as Anglicans we only have His gifts, nor that we have all of them—we say simply that there is nothing lacking to us in what our Church provides, that what is needed is not a new revelation or new fashions in belief, but a more thorough knowledge of and sincere commitment to what we have. Here at the Congress we have seen Anglicanism at its best, and discovered that at its best it is not simply conventional, nominal Churchmanship, nor an easy tradition of inherited customs, but that it confronts us with the call of God and gives us power to obey.

III

But we cannot rest with this alone. Here we have met and known fellow Churchmen from every continent. We have heard our prayers in other tongues. We have knelt side by side with Anglicans of every

color. We have discovered anew what it means to belong to a world-wide Church. And in this world, so torn and twisted against itself, there is not one of us who has not seen the necessity of two Christian duties—boldness and compassion. You know how easy it is to dismiss such words as “missionary” and “evangelist,” as if they were out-of-date, old-fashioned. We do not quarrel about words; we simply say to you that we have seen, in a way none of us can ever forget, the terrible, absolute necessity of Christian witness in the contemporary world. We have seen with our own eyes both the reality and the need of Christian brotherhood, because we have come to know our brothers. We have understood a little of what God has done in making of one blood all nations of men, but we have also realized how far His purpose is still unfulfilled through our disobedience.

We have been taken out of our safe isolation; and we are resolved that boldness in standing up to be counted for our faith, and compassion in remembering the needs of our brothers are the best gifts we can bring to a world divided by selfishness or suffering. Three out of every five of our fellow men do not have enough to eat nor a safe nor decent roof over their children’s heads. That misery is a fact. It is also a fact that God came into this world that men might have life and have it more abundantly. If, all over the world, the underprivileged are upsetting the world—if the meek are inheriting the earth, in their own way—it is no more than He said would happen. It is a merciful judgment of God that we favored ones are so reminded that He is still in control.

Boldness and compassion—boldness to say before all the world Whom it is we believe, what He does, what He wills—compassion to understand the pain and sorrow of life for the greater part of mankind, and to share it. It is right to condemn the false ideology of the Communists which draws its strength from the misery of mankind. But it ill becomes Christians and Churchmen who profess their faith in the Father Almighty to remain blind and deaf to this misery and to fail to do whatever we can to establish justice among men and make human brotherhood a reality.

IV

Therefore we have of necessity thought much about missions and evangelism. Those two words, we came to see, are really one. It is our duty everywhere, in all circumstances, to live and speak and act in accordance with our belief in Christ Jesus and our love for Him. We have thought a great deal about the way God calls us to exercise our discipleship in our homes, in our jobs, in politics and social serv-

ice, and in all neighborhood relations. Businessmen, industrial workers, housewives, teachers, farmers—we are all alike called of God to do our work as He means it to be done. We went further; we saw that our money was God's gift and needed to be offered to Him in full sincerity and honesty. Most of us are like most of you—unthinking people who give a mere token of our wealth to God. But it is hard to meet, as we have met day after day, and not think long thoughts about what God has given us and how little we have shared with Him and our brothers in Him. We talked about sacrifice, and afterward were sorry we had used the presumptuous word in a time when life itself is required of many of our fellow Churchmen. God has given us everything. He requires of us both our gifts and the service of our lives.

Finally, we have talked of missions and of a new and better missionary strategy. Yet even the best strategy in the world will fail if there are not men and women to do the job and to do it faithfully and well. Mission stations, parish churches, schools, religious orders, hospitals, all the buildings and equipment which the vision and generosity of man can provide lie useless if willing human service is not there to bring them to life. The urgent need and the continual call of Christ are alike clear and compelling.

It is not for the sake of the Anglican Communion that we plead. That Communion is not what is at stake. God will take care of His own. It is rather what our Communion points to beyond itself which haunts and commands us. A greater Church into which we may bring our gifts and lay them at His feet along with Christians of other traditions; a truer society in which the justice of God has overridden the inequalities of nature and history—these are what are at stake. This is the vision which we have seen, for which we are proud to work and witness. We pray that what God has given to us He will also give to you.

The Message was adopted without discussion, and the PRESIDING OFFICER closed the final working session of the Anglican Congress of 1954 with his benediction.

THE CLOSING SERVICE

At 5:00 P.M. on August 13, an hour after the closing session of the Congress, the delegates assembled in The Cathedral Church of St. Mark for the last Congress service, Evening Prayer, with an address by the ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN. The simplicity of the service, in which the members of the world-wide family of Anglican Churches participated in their own evening Office, was in direct and telling contrast to the great Opening Service of the Congress ten days before. The procession of vested clergy included the DEAN and clergy of The Cathedral, the BISHOP and the BISHOP COADJUTOR OF MINNESOTA, the BISHOPS of OLYMPIA, SOUTH CAROLINA and CONNECTICUT, the ARCHBISHOP OF MELBOURNE, the ARCHBISHOP OF QUEBEC, the PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE NIPPON SEI KO KWAI, the ARCHBISHOP OF THE WEST INDIES, the ARCHBISHOP OF SYDNEY, the METROPOLITAN OF INDIA, the ARCHBISHOP OF RUPERT'S LAND, the PRIMUS OF SCOTLAND, the ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, the PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, and the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. The master of ceremonies was CANON WEST, and CANON BUTLER acted as chaplain to the Bishop of Minnesota.

Throughout the service a spirit of deep thankfulness and quiet resolution was evident among the representatives of the Churches as they knelt together for the last time. The ten days of close comradeship had come to an end, but the sense of closer unity and clearer common purpose in Christ and His Church which had become so manifest during the Congress was stronger than ever before. With one heart the delegates gave praise to God and voice to the mood that possessed them all: "Now thank we all our God!"

EVENING PRAYER AND SERMON

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. MARK

Friday, August 13, 1954, at 5 p.m.

HYMN: I LOVE thy kingdom, Lord

ST. THOMAS (WILLIAMS)

Opening Sentence, Versicles and Responses

Officiant: The Right Reverend the Bishop of Minnesota

PSALM 48 *Magnus Dominus*

The First Lesson

Isaiah 55

The Lessons will be read by The Right Reverend the Bishop
Coadjutor of Minnesota.

Magnificat

The Second Lesson St. Matthew 28:16

Nunc dimittis

The Apostles' Creed

Salutation, the Lord's Prayer, Versicles and Responses

The Three Collects and the Grace

HYMN: Now thank we all our God

NUN DANKET

THE SERMON

BY

THE MOST REVEREND THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN

I Kings 19:12:

After the fire, a still small voice.

Two notes must be struck at this Closing Service of our Congress—a note of *thankfulness* and a note of *responsibility*.

We thank Almighty God for the fellowship we have experienced during this week of Congress. Literally from the ends of the earth, we, members of the Anglican Communion, have met to think and plan and pray. Our experience this week has emphasized in our minds the greatness and reality of our family life, has done much to cement our love for one another, and to make possible fuller co-operation in the work of God. We, who have come from other countries, must express our gratitude to our brothers of the Anglican Church in America for that wonderful generosity which made our journeys possible, and for the unstinted hospitality and lovingkindness with which we have been received. Our lives have been enriched by the joy of new friendships which we shall value in the years which lie ahead. For many of us there has been also a joyous renewal of friendships made in former years. It has been a very wonderful thing, this fellowship. We belong to different nations and varied traditions. The colour of our skins is as varied as our theological outlooks. We shall continue to differ on many points, but with a wider understanding of the opinions of others. We have found that these differences can coincide with real fellowship and affection. "We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren."

We thank God for what we have learned this week. By the help of scholarly essays and free discussion we have acquired a wider and

more understanding appreciation of the truths which underlie our faith and worship, and of the purposes of God for our Churches.

We thank God for the fact of this our Anglican Communion, the fact that we exist as a great world-wide brotherhood. By the guiding hand of the God of history our fellowship has grown and spread over the face of the globe during the last two centuries. In homelands and on frontiers our Communion has upheld the ancient traditions of the Catholic Church, has proclaimed her historical faith, and has set forth God's will for His children. This week we have realized, as perhaps never before, the greatness of our inheritance.

And now our Congress is nearly ended. Before long we shall be going home. It is always a joyful thing to return home, but in this instance we experience in our joy a tension, to use a word on which much emphasis, perhaps too much, has been laid this week. As we turn our faces homewards there is a sadness in our thoughts because it means saying goodbye to so many whose friendship has come to mean much to us. We are going home to our dioceses, our parishes, our special spheres of work for God and His Kingdom, and this fact reminds us of the second thought which must dominate our minds at this closing service, the thought of responsibility. The very fact that we have attended this conference has laid upon each of us new responsibilities as regards our work in that special corner of our Communion where God has placed us.

We have a great inheritance, but inheritance involves responsibility. That God has a great purpose for us seems evident from the history of the past two centuries. It is for us to dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of His purpose. That can be no light task. We must face it in the faith that it is a task to which God Himself has called us.

How shall we best endeavour to fulfill the purposes of God, purposes which have to do with the salvation of the world, with warfare against the mighty and dominating forces of evil, with the establishment of the Kingdom of God in the hearts and lives of nations and men throughout the whole world?

I suggest one way in which God means us to work His purposes out. From the very early days of the Anglican Communion, following the missionary work of St. Augustine, and of those Celtic missionaries, who, working from the North, helped to win back England to the Christian faith; from the days of the Council of Whitby, when the tension between those two great branches of the Christian Church, the Celtic and the Western Churches, was finally resolved into a unity which is the Anglican Communion; and especially from the days of that great and forceful organizer, Theodore,

the Church has been organized into provinces, dioceses and parishes. That organization has become the physical framework of the Anglican Communion throughout the world. Churches, provinces, dioceses and parishes—that is the organized structure at which we aim always and everywhere. And all down the ages it has been in our parishes that the vital work of the Church has been accomplished. It is so today. Every parish is a miniature of the whole Church. Conferences have their place and purpose. We, who have met together here must be convinced of that. Synods and convocations have their work to do, necessary and important work. But I am convinced that without the faithful and enthusiastic work done in the small parochial communities, our conferences and synods will labor in vain. I sometimes read over the instructions which we clergy receive when we are ordained as deacons and priests, and those given to bishops at their consecration. In these godly exhortations I find nothing which urges us to be faithful in attending conferences, nothing about taking the chair at committees, financial or otherwise. But I do find that solemn instructions were given us about our personal lives, about the duty of prayer and the study of the Holy Scriptures, about visiting, and about the teaching of sound doctrine. As priests we were bidden to be faithful dispensers of the Word of God and of the Holy Sacraments. Teaching and worship were to be the most essential parts of our task. It is hard work, this parochial ministration, calling for whole-hearted devotion and sacrifice. But it is in our parishes that the essential work of the Church is done. There the young are taught the Christian faith. There our congregations learn to worship God. It is from our parochial congregations that recruits are found for the Ministry of the Church, and for the manning of our missionary outposts. There Christian communities are built up to be lights shining in the world of darkness. It was not through the earthquake, or the fire, or the storm, that God spake to Elijah. His words came in the sound of the still small voice. The Church has the world to win for Christ, and it can only be won through sacrifice; and the task which demands most sacrifice, as it demands most love, is that of the parish priest, who daily loses himself in his work for God.

“He hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.”

As a modern Church historian has written, “It is upon the saints in common life, who cannot be canonized because they cannot be

known, and upon the cumulative pressure upon society of tens of thousands of parochial communities and mission stations, that the Anglican Church has always placed its main reliance for the discharge before God of its responsibilities all over the world." I believe that today in many lands, including the British Isles, and this great country in which we have met for conference, there is a hunger for God more widespread than it has been for generations. But vast multitudes are out of touch with organized religion. We are told that in the United States more than half the population in census returns state that they have "no religion." In England the number of nominal adherents who attend church for worship is a small fraction of the population. Yet men are hungry for the Word of Life. Dimly, it may be, but surely, they are conscious of the emptiness of life without God. To whom can they turn? Where can they learn the meaning of the Christian faith? Multitudes who never go to church listen in to religious broadcasts. We cannot be too thankful for those who organize this modern method of thought communication to bring to men's ears the message and worship of Christianity. But the very nature of the instrument used means that such work to be truly effective, must be supplemented by the parochial machinery of the Church.

At times the appeal of some preacher of the Gospel reaches the ears of multitudes, and many hearts are stirred. We thank God, but must remember this. Supposing that there have been one hundred thousand genuine conversions at such a mission, greater things are happening through the unexciting, unadvertised work of our parishes. Through the weekly worship, through the teaching of children, through the work of confirmation classes and such organizations as the Mothers' Union and many youth organizations, not one hundred thousand but many millions in each generation are being taught the Christian faith, and are finding grace to live Christian lives.

It follows that our immediate task is to strengthen the work which is being attempted in our parishes and mission stations through the whole Anglican Communion. Their chief need is for recruits. Almost every city parish in England is undermanned. The report of every missionary society contains pathetic appeals for more workers, men and women of vision, full of faith and of the Holy Spirit. The doors of opportunity, they tell us, are open wide. We cannot enter them for lack of man power.

We send forth from this Congress a challenge to the youth of our Church that, setting aside all false worldly estimates, they may

harken to the voice of Him who stood of old upon the shores of the Galilean lake and challenged the young fishermen, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men."

God grant that our work this week may lead to a deeper fellowship within our Communion, a wider understanding of the truth which makes men free, a new spirit of consecrated service, and a wider response to the appeal of the Lord of the Harvest for workers in the harvest field, men and women who will devote their lives to the ministry of His Church, the redemption of mankind and the greater glory of God.

Our Lord was faced with this same problem. He looked upon fields white already unto the harvest, and bade His Church pray that the Lord of the Harvest will send forth more labourers into His harvest.

HYMN: O God, our help in ages past

ST. ANNE

THE PRAYERS

The Right Reverend the Presiding Bishop

THE BLESSING

The Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury

CONCLUDING WORDS

BY

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

I will not attempt to recount again the excellencies of the Anglican Congress. The first great Opening Service carried us all to the highest level and there we stayed throughout the formative days of the Congress. If I had to say what it was that maintained it consistently at that level, I should reply that it was due to the standard of the papers read to us on the four topics. I had a feeling that as the first topic was unfolded, the Congress felt a challenge and rose to it. They were not to be offered easy platitudes or evasive generalities; they were to be given "strong meat," realities, fundamentals. There was to be no avoidance of the tensions within our tradition of which all are uneasily aware; they were to be fairly and squarely accounted for. So it was, supremely perhaps, when the second topic was introduced. So it was throughout.

Out of the papers and the discussions came what was almost a new discovery to many, that this Anglican heritage of ours is not at all a dull compromise, not at all a middle position uncertain of itself and to be defended apologetically, but a positive tradition of Christian Truth, strong and honest enough to face diversities as old as the New Testament itself, creative enough to make out of them a richer truth. There was no self-laudation; there was a real humility and a deep sense of weakness to be remedied. But the glory of the Congress was that it made us confident that our tradition had its own distinctive truth and was essential for Christ's purpose in the whole witness of His Church. And with that humble confidence possessing us, the joyful fellowship which embraced us all had its perfect work.

The Editor asked me to answer this question—where do we go from here? My answer would be that every part of the Anglican Communion should try to follow, step by step, the thinking of the Congress as expressed in the papers and in the findings—but in the papers *first*. The findings which came out of the discussions are good so far as they go, but all their strength comes from the papers that preceded them.

I should hope that in local groups, clergy and laity would really think through the four topics. First: our Vocation. What is meant by

our comprehensiveness? Is it in truth a mark of faithfulness to the truth of Christ? And if so how does that affect all of us in our ecclesiastical relations to one another? It is one thing to learn from one another and to trust each other. It is quite another to speak slightly of one another, to seek to push one another out, to form parties, and to be fond of controversy. If over all the Anglican Communion thought on our Vocation could lead, as it led the Congress, to such findings as the Congress found, the whole Communion would be grandly strengthened for its mission. And strength would be added to strength as the groups next work through the wealth of learning, wisdom and inspiration given in the papers on Worship. For here are the two necessary foundations—belief and worship. Our temptation is always to hurry on to Message and Work; and in a world where so much is crying out to be done, it is natural to want to get down to doing. But beyond all doubt the Congress found itself first in Vocation and Worship, and only because of that rock-like foundation was able to go on to Message and Work.

So if I am asked where to go next, I say above all to work over with real care what the Congress puts before you as Vocation and Worship. Think it out: ponder it: wrestle with it: see its depth and power. Be uplifted by it into a sense of Christ's call to us and of His communion with us. Then, but not till then, really get down to the other two topics. Of course you may first read quickly what is said about them and the findings on them. Curiosity will make you do that; and curiosity quickly satisfied would also let you forget them again. But if you come to those same resolutions on Message and Work, fortified by the realisation of the special call Christ makes to us of the Anglican Communion to preach, in belief and worship, a truth about Him which is specially committed to us and which over much of Christendom is greatly jeopardised, then with a humbler and more fruitful devotion you will set yourselves to do the works that are set before you—by personal behaviour, by corporate resolution, by prayer, by every appropriate sacrifice and offering, to set forward the work of Christ through the Church.

These are the reflexions that come first to my mind. Nothing can convey to you who read this report the thrilling fellowship of mind and daily worship, the all-embracing companionship, the overwhelming hospitality of our hosts which made the Congress such an unforgettable experience. But if you can, as I suggest, work your way through the papers and the findings, you will, I think, capture the greatest gift of the Congress—new confidence in Christ and in the work He gives us to do in the Anglican Communion.

For the rest, the impetus of this Congress will work itself out, unobserved by the eyes of men, in small acts of sacrifice, renewed hope in congregations, fresh courage to resist all forms of evil, new determination to increase the Kingdom of God, all over the world, in the Churches of the five continents from which representatives came to Minneapolis; and not least there will be a new understanding by the older Churches of the loneliness, the lack of resources, the need of leadership and learning felt by many of the younger Churches. Their courage and devotion must stir up the whole Communion to come eagerly to their aid. And my final word is to say how deeply we were impoverished by the inevitable absence of our brethren of the Church of China. Their absence must cause us all to have them the more deeply in our hearts and in our prayers in the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.

GEOFFREY CANTUAR:

Appendix I

CONGRESS OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

ANGLICAN



CONGRESS

1954

CONGRESS OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

PRESIDING OFFICER OF THE CONGRESS

The Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, D.D.
*Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church
in the United States of America*

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*A Joint Committee of the General Convention
of the Protestant Episcopal Church
in the United States of America*

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The Rt. Rev. Walter H. Gray, D.D.
Episcopal Secretary of the Congress

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Vice-Chairman

Chairman, Subcommittee on Finance

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Carruthers, D.D.

Chairman, Program Committee

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Secretary-Treasurer

The Rev. Cornelius P. Trow-
bridge

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Associate Secretary of the Congress

The Rev. Richard Elting, III
Assistant to the Episcopal Secre-
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Assistant Treasurer

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Burroughs, D.D.

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The Very Rev. John C. Leffler,
D.D.

Dr. C. McD. Davis

Dr. Lewis B. Franklin

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HONORARY CHAIRMEN

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The Rt. Rev. Hamilton H. Kellogg, D.D.

CHAIRMAN

Mr. Valentine Wurtele

Mr. John W. Gregg
Vice-Chairman

Mr. John H. Meyers
Vice-Chairman

Chairman, Diocesan Dinner Committee

The Very Rev. Frederick M. Morris, D.D.
Chairman, Cathedral Committee

Mr. C. B. Sweatt
Chairman, Finance Committee

Mr. Neil Messick, Sr.
Chairman, Housing Committee

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Honorary Chairman, Diocesan Dinner Committee

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Chamber of Commerce

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Chairman, Public Relations

Mr. Waldo E. Hardell
Chairman, Transportation Committee

Mr. Henry C. Mackall
Chairman, Meeting Places & Exhibits

Mrs. Lloyd Thorburn
Woman's Auxiliary Luncheon

Dr. Norman Johnson
Chairman, Music Committee

Mr. Charles Jensen
Chairman, Supplies Committee

Mr. Vern Conway
Controller

THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN

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The Very Rev. James A. Pike, D.D.	The Very Rev. Percy L. Urban, S.T.D.

The Rev. Canon Edward N. West, Th.D.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SERVICES

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Chairman

The Rev. Canon John V. Butler, Jr., D.D.

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The Rev. Canon Alan Richardson, D.D.
The Province of York, The Church of England

The Very Rev. C. Witton-Davies
The Church in Wales

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The Church of Ireland

Professor Donald MacKinnon
The Episcopal Church in Scotland

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The Rt. Rev. Percival W. Stephenson, D.D.
The Church of the Province of New Zealand

The Rev. L. A. Davis
The Church of the Province of South Africa

The Most Rev. Alan John Knight, D.D.
The Church of the Province of the West Indies

The Rt. Rev. P. S. Yanagihara, D.D.
The Nippon Sei Ko Kwai

The Rt. Rev. Y. Y. Tsu, D.D.
The Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui

The Rt. Rev. Geoffrey Francis Allen
The Missionary Dioceses under the jurisdiction of Canterbury

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Executive Group Chairman

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Miss Mary S. Monahan
Editorial Assistant

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Master of Ceremonies

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The Rev. John Heuss, D.D.
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The Rev. Anson P. Stokes, Jr., D.D.
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The Rev. Canon John V. Butler, Jr., D.D.
The Rev. Powel M. Dawley, Ph.D.
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Dr. Norman Johnson

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Mr. Edward Berryman

Mr. John Fisher
Mrs. Richard Manning
Miss Jean C. McIntyre

Appendix II

DAILY PROGRAM OF THE CONGRESS

ANGLICAN



CONGRESS

1954

DAILY PROGRAM

A section of the official Congress Program is reprinted here

THE OPENING SERVICE
OF THE CONGRESS

Wednesday, August 4
8:00 P.M.

THE MINNEAPOLIS AUDITORIUM
East Grant Street and Third Avenue, South

Addresses

by

The Most Rev. and Rt. Hon. Geoffrey F. Fisher, D.D.
Archbishop of Canterbury

and

The Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, D.D.
Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church

THURSDAY AUGUST 5

7:15 A.M. Morning Prayer

The daily Office is taken from the English Prayer Book

7:30 A.M. Holy Communion

CORPORATE COMMUNION OF THE CONGRESS

The American Prayer Book is used

Daily Services during the Congress are held
in The Cathedral Church of St. Mark

10:00 A.M. First General Session of the Congress

Greetings and opening business

Introduction to the work of the Congress

Address on Topic I: *Our Vocation*: The Rt. Rev. and Rt. Hon. J. W. C. Wand, D.D., Bishop of London: THE POSITION OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION IN HISTORY AND IN DOCTRINE.

NOONDAY PRAYERS

When the Congress is in General Session Noonday Prayers are held in the meeting; on other days, in The Cathedral at 12:00 Noon.

1:00 P.M. Woman's Auxiliary Luncheon. Nicollet Hotel

2:30 P.M. General Session resumed.

Addresses on Topic I: The Most Rev. Philip Carrington, LIT.D., D.C.L., S.T.D., D.D., Archbishop of Quebec: THE STRUCTURE OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION; the Rev. J. P. Hickinbotham, M.A., Professor of Theology in the University College of the Gold Coast: OUR PLACE IN CHRISTENDOM AND OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER COMMUNIONS.

4:00 P.M. Meeting of Delegates in Discussion Groups

5:30 P.M. Evening Prayer. *The daily Office is taken from the American Prayer Book.*

8:30 to 10:30 P.M. Reception. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 201 East 24th Street.

FRIDAY AUGUST 6

7:15 A.M. Morning Prayer

7:30 A.M. Holy Communion

The Scottish Prayer Book is used

9:30 to 11:30 A.M. Group meetings for discussion of Topic I

11:30 A.M. Meeting of Group Chairmen and Secretaries

NOONDAY PRAYERS

2:30 P.M. General Session of the Congress

Reports of the discussion on Topic I submitted for consideration by the Congress.

5:30 P.M. Evening Prayer

7:00 P.M. Dinner for the people of the Diocese of Minnesota. Nicollet Hotel. Speakers: The Archbishop of Canterbury and The Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

SATURDAY AUGUST 7

7:15 A.M. Morning Prayer

7:30 A.M. Holy Communion

The Indian Prayer Book is used

9:30 A.M. General Session of the Congress

Address on Topic II: *Our Worship*: The Rev. Massey H. Shepherd, PH.D., S.T.D., Professor of Liturgics in the Church Divinity School of the Pacific: OUR ANGLICAN UNDERSTANDING OF CORPORATE WORSHIP; the Rt. Rev. David Colin Dunlop, M.A., Dean of Lincoln: THE LITURGICAL LIFE OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

NOONDAY PRAYERS

12:00 Noon. The Faribault Pilgrimage. For the Delegates.

5:30 P.M. Evening Prayer

SUNDAY AUGUST 8

7:45 A.M. Morning Prayer

8:00 A.M. Holy Communion

The Canadian Prayer Book is used

Special notice will be given of Church Services
in the neighborhood of Minneapolis and St. Paul

4:00 P.M. Evening Prayer

The Cathedral Church of St. Mark

Address by

The Rev. Roland Koh

Diocese of Victoria Hong Kong

Sunday Evening Suppers. Delegates and their wives will be invited
to be guests in the homes of members of parishes in St. Paul and in
White Bear Lake.

MASS MEETING OF MISSIONARY WITNESS

8:00 P.M.

THE ST. PAUL AUDITORIUM

143 West Fourth Street, St. Paul

Addresses

by

The Rt. Rev. A. W. Howells

Assistant Bishop of Lagos

The Rt. Rev. William J. Gordon, Jr., D.D.

Bishop of Alaska

The Rt. Rev. Lakdasa Jacob de Mel

Bishop of Kurunagala

MONDAY AUGUST 9

7:15 A.M. Morning Prayer

7:30 A.M. Holy Communion

The Japanese Prayer Book is used

9:30 to 11:30 A.M. Group meetings for discussion of Topic II

11:30 A.M. Meeting of Group Chairmen and Secretaries

NOONDAY PRAYERS

2:30 P.M. General Session of the Congress

Reports of the discussion on Topic II submitted for consideration by the Congress.

5:30 P.M. Evening Prayer

7:00 P.M. Dinner at the Minikahda Club for the Delegates and their wives only. Overseas Delegates will be the guests of the Diocese of Minnesota.

TUESDAY AUGUST 10

7:15 A.M. Morning Prayer

7:30 A.M. Holy Communion

The New Zealand Prayer Book is used

9:30 A.M. General Session of the Congress

Addresses on Topic III: *Our Message*. The Rt. Rev. John S. Moyes, TH.D., D.D., Bishop of Armidale: THE INDIVIDUAL; the Rt. Rev. Richard Ambrose Reeves, S.T.D., Bishop of Johannesburg: THE FAMILY; Dr. Kathleen Bliss, the Diocese of Rochester (England): THE CITIZEN.

NOONDAY PRAYERS

2:30 to 4:30 P.M. Group meetings for discussion of Topic III

4:30 P.M. Meeting of Group Chairmen and Secretaries

5:30 P.M. Evening Prayer

6:00 P.M. Box Suppers at the home of Mr. Sheffield West, Lake Minnetonka. Performance by the Canterbury Players of the University of Minnesota.

7:30 P.M. Bishops' Dinner at the Minneapolis Club. Bishops will be the guests of Bishops Keeler and Kellogg.

WEDNESDAY AUGUST 11

7:15 A.M. Morning Prayer

7:30 A.M. Holy Communion

The West Indian Prayer Book is used

9:30 A.M. General Session of the Congress

Reports of the discussion on Topic III submitted for consideration by the Congress.

NOONDAY PRAYERS

2:30 P.M. Minneapolis-St. Paul Sightseeing Tour. Suppers in Twin Cities after the Tour.

5:30 P.M. Evening Prayer

8:00 P.M. General Session of the Congress

Addresses on Topic IV: *Our Work*. Mr. Charles P. Taft, Diocese of Southern Ohio: THE ROLE OF THE LAITY; The Rt. Rev. Bravid W. Harris, D.D., Bishop of Liberia: THE MISSIONARY TASK; the Rt. Rev. Leslie S. Hunter, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Bishop of Sheffield: A CHURCH IN ACTION.

THURSDAY AUGUST 12

7:15 A.M. Morning Prayer

7:30 A.M. Holy Communion

The South African Prayer Book is used

9:30 to 11:30 A.M. Group meetings for discussion of Topic IV

11:30 A.M. Meeting of Group Chairmen and Secretaries

NOONDAY PRAYERS

2:30 P.M. General Session of the Congress

Reports of the discussion on Topic IV submitted for consideration by the Congress.

5:30 P.M. Evening Prayer

7:00 P.M. Delegates and their wives will be invited to be dinner guests in the homes of members of parishes in Minneapolis.

7:00 P.M. Drafting Session of the Editorial Committee and Congress Moderators.

FRIDAY AUGUST 13

7:15 A.M. Morning Prayer

7:30 A.M. Holy Communion

The English Prayer Book is used

9:30 A.M. General Session of the Congress

Presentation of the Report of the Editorial Committee.

11:30 A.M. Drafting Session of the Editorial Committee.

NOONDAY PRAYERS

3:00 P.M. Final General Session of the Congress.

Presentation of the Congress Message.

Concluding business of the Congress. Adjournment.

THE CLOSING SERVICE OF THE CONGRESS

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. MARK

5:00 P.M.

Address

by

The Most Rev. Arthur W. Barton, D.D.

Archbishop of Dublin

Appendix III

DELEGATES FROM THE CHURCHES
and
DIRECTORY OF CONGRESS PARTICIPANTS

ANGLICAN



CONGRESS

1954

DELEGATES FROM THE CHURCHES

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The Provinces of Canterbury and York

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The Primate of All England and Archbishop of Canterbury

The Bishop of London
The Bishop of Birmingham
The Bishop of Bristol
The Bishop of Carlisle
The Bishop of Chelmsford
The Bishop of Chichester
The Bishop of Derby
The Bishop of Exeter
The Bishop of Lichfield

The Bishop of Lincoln
The Bishop of Liverpool
The Bishop of Newcastle
The Bishop of Norwich
The Bishop of Ripon
The Bishop of St. Albans
The Bishop of Sheffield
The Bishop of Southwark
The Bishop of Truro

The Bishop of Wakefield

The Bishop Suffragan of Croydon
The Bishop Suffragan of Hull
The Bishop Suffragan of Middleton

The Bishop Suffragan of Plymouth
The Bishop Suffragan of Southampton
The Bishop Suffragan of Stepney

The Bishop Suffragan of Stockport

The Rt. Rev. G. F. Allen
The Rt. Rev. D. C. Dunlop

The Rt. Rev. H. A. Maxwell
The Rt. Rev. B. C. Roberts, D.D.

The Rt. Rev. C. E. Stuart

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Rev. Canon T. H. Cashmore
Rev. F. A. R. Chapman
Rev. Canon A. H. G. Clinch
Rev. A. L. F. Cole

Rev. V. T. Ducker
Rev. Canon A. W. Eaton
Rev. Prebendary S. A. H. Eley
Rev. Prebendary E. J. Gawne
Ven. L. W. Harland
Rev. Canon H. G. G. Herklots
Ven. G. F. Hilder
Ven. A. V. Hurley

Rev. J. S. Leatherbarrow
 Rev. V. K. Lippiett
 Rev. T. L. Livermore
 Rev. K. S. P. McDowell
 Rev. A. J. Pearson
 Rev. W. H. S. Purcell
 Ven. P. G. Reddick
 Rev. M. H. Ridgway
 Ven. E. J. K. Roberts
 Rev. Canon C. K. Sansbury, D.D.
 Rev. R. D. Say

Rev. Canon E. L. Seager
 Rev. J. L. Sell
 Rev. Canon G. Sprittles
 Rev. H. G. Tindall
 Ven. G. F. Townley
 Rev. F. I. Turney
 Rev. J. W. M. Vyse
 Rev. H. M. Waddams
 Rev. Canon M. A. C. Warren, D.D.
 Rev. Canon I. H. White-Thompson
 Ven. H. S. Wilkinson

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 Mr. G. Aronsohn
 Mr. H. S. Atfield
 Mrs. G. K. A. Bell
 Dr. K. M. Bliss
 Mrs. T. Bloomer
 Mr. A. J. Bryant
 Miss P. Burns
 Mr. J. M. Butterfield
 Mr. R. Capper
 Mr. O. W. H. Clark
 Mrs. A. H. G. Clinch
 Mrs. E. Coombs
 Mr. A. C. Cropper
 Mr. B. A. Cutter
 Mrs. V. T. Ducker
 Mrs. G. F. Fisher
 Maj. G. Foster
 Mr. W. E. Grenville-Grey
 Mr. R. Q. Gurney
 Mrs. R. Q. Gurney

Mrs. H. G. G. Herklots
 Miss E. Holmes
 Miss C. Howard
 Mrs. L. S. Hunter
 Mr. R. U. Lambert
 Mrs. C. A. Martin
 Miss C. I. Matthews
 Mr. J. Pearce
 Mrs. A. J. Pearson
 Mrs. A. E. J. Rawlinson
 Mrs. B. C. Roberts
 Miss A. Roper
 Mr. G. S. R. Sale
 Mr. W. H. Saumarez-Smith
 Lady Swabey
 Mrs. J. W. C. Wand
 Mr. H. Whitbread
 Mrs. I. H. White-Thompson
 Mr. F. B. Wilkins
 Mrs. F. B. Wilkins
 Mrs. J. L. Wilson

THE CHURCH IN WALES

BISHOP

The Bishop of Bangor

PRIEST

Very Rev. C. Witton-Davies

LAY DELEGATES

Mrs. J. C. Jones

Mrs. C. Witton-Davies

THE CHURCH OF IRELAND

The Provinces of Armagh and Dublin

BISHOP

The Primate of Ireland and Archbishop of Dublin

PRIESTS

Very Rev. R. C. G. H. Elliott

Rev. Canon R. R. Hartford, D.D.

Very Rev. H. R. McAdoo, D.D.

Rev. E. Owen

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Mrs. G. W. Shannon

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

BISHOP

The Primus of Scotland and Bishop of Argyll and The Isles

PRIEST

Rev. Canon K. A. G. Strachan

LAY DELEGATE

Mr. D. L. Munby

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Including Overseas Missionary Districts

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The Bishop of Alabama

The Suffragan Bishop of Alabama

The Bishop of Alaska

The Bishop of Albany

The Suffragan Bishop of Albany

The Bishop of Arizona

The Bishop of Atlanta

The Bishop of Bethlehem

The Bishop of Central Brazil

The Bishop of Central New York

The Suffragan Bishop of Central New
York

The Bishop of Chicago

The Suffragan Bishop of Chicago

The Bishop of Colorado

The Bishop of Connecticut

The Suffragan Bishop of Connecticut

The Bishop of Cuba

The Suffragan Bishop of Dallas

The Bishop of Delaware

The Bishop Coadjutor of Delaware

The Bishop of East Carolina

The Bishop of Eastern Oregon

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 The Bishop of Harrisburg
 The Bishop of Idaho
 The Bishop of Indianapolis
 The Bishop of Iowa
 The Bishop of Kansas
 The Bishop of Kentucky
 The Bishop of Lexington
 The Bishop of Liberia
 The Bishop of Long Island
 The Suffragan Bishop of Long Island
 The Suffragan Bishop of Los Angeles
 The Bishop of Louisiana
 The Suffragan Bishop of Louisiana
 The Bishop of Maine
 The Bishop of Massachusetts
 The Bishop of Mexico
 The Bishop of Milwaukee
 The Bishop of Minnesota
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 The Bishop of Missouri
 The Bishop of Montana
 The Bishop of Nebraska
 The Bishop of New York
 The Suffragan Bishop of New York
 The Bishop Coadjutor of Newark
 The Bishop of North Dakota
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The Bishop of Wyoming

The Bishop of Northern Michigan
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 The Bishop of Oklahoma
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 The Suffragan Bishop of The Philip-
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 The Suffragan Bishop of Pittsburgh
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 The Bishop of South Dakota
 The Bishop of South Florida
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The Archbishop of Moosonee

The Archbishop of British Columbia

The Bishop of Algoma

The Bishop of Brandon

The Bishop of Athabasca

The Bishop of Calgary

The Bishop of Edmonton
 The Bishop of Huron
 The Bishop of Keewatin
 The Bishop of Kootenay
 The Bishop of Montreal
 The Bishop of New Westminster
 The Bishop of Niagara
 The Bishop of Nova Scotia

The Bishop of Ontario
 The Bishop of Ottawa
 The Bishop of Qu'Appelle
 The Bishop of Saskatchewan
 The Bishop of Saskatoon
 The Bishop of Toronto
 The Bishop Coadjutor of Toronto
 The Bishop of Yukon

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The Bishop of Kalgoorlie The Bishop of North Queensland
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Mrs. A. M. Woods

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The Bishop of Central Tanganyika	The Bishop of Southwest Tanganyika
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The Bishop in Jerusalem	
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			LAY	
	BISHOPS	PRIESTS	DELEGATES	TOTAL
The Church of England	32	38	42	112
The Church in Wales	1	1	2	4
The Church of Ireland	1	4	2	7
The Episcopal Church in Scotland	1	1	1	3
The Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.	95	109	86	290
The Church of England in Canada	25	36	26	87
The Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon	6	5	9	20
The Church of England in Australia and Tasmania	8	8	10	26
The Church of the Province of New Zealand	2	2	5	9
The Church of the Province of South Africa	3	3	3	9
The Church of the Province of the West Indies	6	7	5	18
The Nippon Sei Ko Kwai	5	11	14	30
The Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui	—	—	—	—
The Church of the Province of West Africa	3	1	1	5
Extra-Provincial Dioceses	13	17	7	37
TOTALS:	201	243	213	657

ANGLICAN



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1954

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BUSHY, Mr. Douglas A., the Protestant Episcopal Church; member of the Subcommittee on Publicity

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Archbishop of Quebec and Metropolitan of Canada; Congress Speaker on Topic I

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estant Episcopal Church; member of the Solicitations Subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Arrangements

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land, the Protestant Episcopal Church

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FISHER, the Most Rev. and Rt. Hon. Geoffrey F., G.C.V.O., D.D., LL.D., Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England, and Metropolitan; Preacher at the Opening Service of the Congress

FISHER, Mrs. Geoffrey F., Delegate from the Church of England

FLORES, the Very Rev. José R., Delegate from the Missionary District of Mexico, the Protestant Episcopal Church

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GURNEY, Mrs. R. Q., Delegate from the Diocese of Norwich, the Church of England

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HERKLOTS, Mrs. H. G. G., Delegate from the Diocese of Sheffield, the Church of England

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HICKINBOTHAM, the Rev. J. P., Professor of Theology in the University College of the Gold Coast; Congress Speaker on Topic I

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HOFFMAN, Mrs. George E., Delegate from the Diocese of Springfield, the Protestant Episcopal Church

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HOWELLS, the Rt. Rev. A. W., Assistant Bishop of Lagos, the Church of the Province of West Africa; Speaker at the Mass Meeting of Missionary Witness

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Chairman of the Minnesota Committee on Services

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HUNTER, the Rt. Rev. Leslie S., D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Bishop of Sheffield, the Church of England; Congress Speaker on Topic IV

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INMAN, Mrs. Thomas G. V., Delegate from the Diocese of Natal, the Church of the Province of South Africa

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JONES, the Rt. Rev. Michael Gresford, D.D., Bishop of St. Albans, the Church of England

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Church of the Province of New Zealand

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KOH, Mrs. Roland, Delegate from the Extra-provincial Missionary Dioceses under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury

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ada

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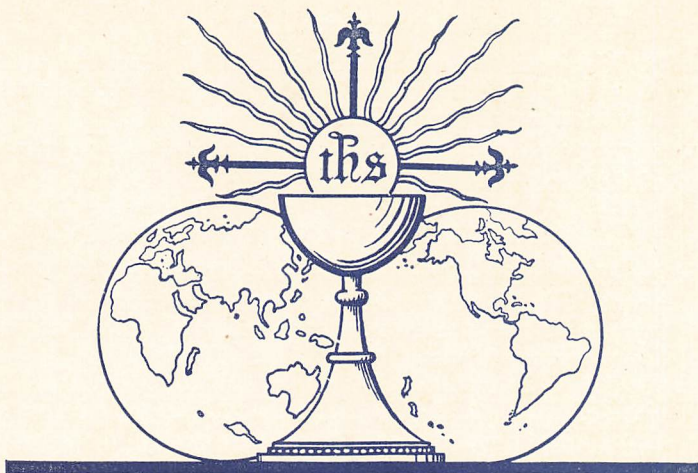
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D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Algoma, the
Church of England in Canada

WURTELE, Mr. Valentine, the Prot-
estant Episcopal Church; Chairman of
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Sei Ko Kwai

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The Whole Faith for the Whole World



THE AMERICAN CHURCH UNION, INC.

347 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH UNION is a society within the Episcopal Church devoted to the furtherance and defense of Apostolic faith and practice. It is dedicated to upholding the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship of the Episcopal Church as an integral part of the whole Catholic Church, and to promoting within the Episcopal Church those elements of Apostolic worship and teaching which are its heritage.

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WITNESS

The A. C. U. program is *first and foremost a united teaching effort* with growing nation wide activities.

The A. C. U. bears witness to the *Catholic faith as expressed in the formularies of the Anglican Communion* and is not concerned with imitating any other Christian Body.

The A. C. U. is concerned with bearing a bold witness to the Church of the Creeds and *The Book of Common Prayer*.

MAINTENANCE AND DEFENSE

The A. C. U. labors for the *ultimate reunion of Christendom* through prayer and conferences, and by maintaining Apostolic worship and teaching as the greatest contribution that the Anglican Communion can make.

The A. C. U. is alert to defend the Church against shortcuts to Christian unity, which compromise some aspects of the "faith once delivered," and is the one group organized to give aid to priests, seminarians and laymen, in defending Catholic Churchmanship, if and when emergencies arise.

The A.C.U. emphasizes twelve facts:

1. **The Holy Catholic Church** was founded by God; it is the Body of which Christ is the Head, and it is the instrument of the Holy Spirit.
2. **The Episcopal Church** is a part of the historic Catholic Church. As an integral part of the Anglican family of the Catholic Church, it is "far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline or worship." (The Book of Common Prayer, p. vi.)
3. **The Apostles** were chosen by Christ to be the center of the Church's authority and power.
4. **The Bishops** are the successors of the Apostles, and they alone have authority and power to ordain Ministers of the Word and Sacraments.
5. **Holy Orders** is the Sacrament by which the three-fold Ministry of Bishops, Priests and Deacons is perpetuated.
6. **Baptism and Confirmation** are the means by which men are born again, made members of the Church, and given the gifts of the Holy Spirit.
7. **The Sacrament of Penance** was instituted by God for the forgiveness of sins committed after Baptism.
8. **The Holy Communion or Eucharist** is the central and sacrificial act of Christian worship.
9. **Christ is really present** in His Body and Blood in the Sacrament of Holy Communion.
10. **The Sacrament of Matrimony** is the means of grace for life-long union created by God between man and woman.
11. **The Sacrament of Holy Unction** is the extension of Christ's Healing Ministry.
12. **The Pulpit** is the Church's official place of teaching and should be reserved normally for those who have received from the Bishops, the successors of the Apostles, the "Authority to preach the Word of God." (The Book of Common Prayer, p. 546.)

ACTION THROUGH A.C.U.

A.C.U. NEWS: The official monthly publication.

ARMED SERVICES: Contacts with chaplains and churchmen; tracts.

CATHOLIC CONGRESSES AND SERVICES OF WITNESS: At frequent intervals and in many areas, including the Catholic Congress in Chicago, Illinois, August 1-3, 1954.

CYCLE OF PRAYER: Continuous daily intercession through Parish Station Days.

DISCIPLINE: Publication of statements and interpretations of the Church's law.

DOCTRINE: Statement and defense by means of publications and correspondence.

INTER-ANGLICAN, ORTHODOX AND OLD CATHOLIC RELATIONS: Cooperation in all possible ways.

MEMBERSHIP AND EXTENSION: Promoting individual memberships and regional groups.

MISSIONS: Promoting definite missionary projects through the A.C.U. affiliate, the Foundation for the Propagation of the Faith.

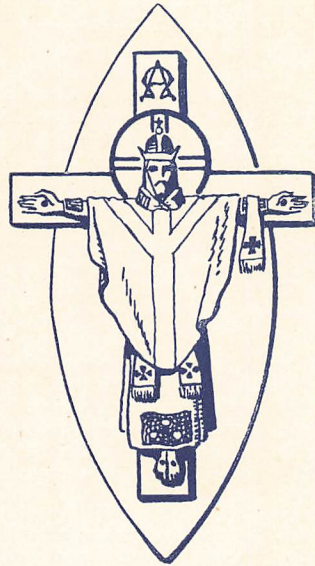
PRIESTS' INSTITUTES: For the consideration of clerical problems.

PUBLICATIONS: List sent on request.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: Evaluation of existing courses and trends; recommendations.

RETREATS: Promotion of retreats as a normal part of Church life; ultimately the training of retreat leaders.

REUNION: Promotion of the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, January



18th to 25th, and of I. L. A. F. O.,
The International League for Apostolic Faith and Order.

SEMINARIANS' FUND: To help needy seminarians.

SOCIAL ACTION: Midwest Summer School of Sociology; three Catholic Sociology Conferences, Illinois (McLaren Foundation, Sycamore), Texas and the East.

SPEAKERS' BUREAU: Providing speakers for meetings.

WOMEN'S WORK: Stimulating the participation of women in the A.C.U. program.

YOUTH WORK: Summer conferences and services of witness for young people; two confraternities, the Servants of Christ the King (S. C. K.) and the Soldiers and Servants of Christ (S. S. C.), each with a rule of life.

The American Church Union History

The A. C. U. is in part the heir of the early movement for Catholic Revival in the American Church (which began with the Connecticut Converts of 1722), and is in part the offspring of the great Catholic Revival in the Anglican Communion, launched at Oxford in 1833 by John Keble's epoch-making sermon on "National Apostasy," and spread by the "Tracts for the Times." From the start, the Revival was a movement to recall the Church to its rightful heritage. Its primary concern has never been with ritual but with the fundamental doctrines of the Ministry, Creed and Sacraments of the Church. In 1859 its leaders realized the need for united effort and organized the *Church Union* in the Church of England, the largest and oldest society of its kind.

In 1937 the American Church Union was organized and later incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. In 1948, provision was made for Regional Units with a large measure of autonomy. In January, 1950 a central office was opened in New York City and a full time Executive Director was appointed.

Among the notable contributions of the A. C. U. to the life of the Church have been its clarification of the issues involved in Christian Reunion, its interpretation and upholding of the Church's law of marriage and divorce, and its defense of the historic ministry.

Organization

The affairs of the A. C. U. are administered by a board of directors known as the Council, which is made up of 85 elected, representative and ex-officio members who have equal rights and duties and come from all parts of the country. The 20 elected members are equally divided between clergy and laity; the representative members are chosen either by regional or affiliated organizations; and the ex-officio members are the officers of the Union and chairmen of its standing committees.

Aim

The A. C. U. seeks to work in all things as a leaven within the life of the whole Church. "A little leaven leaveneth the whole."

Sometimes the A. C. U. is erroneously referred to as a "party." If to defend the doctrine and discipline of the Church, if to maintain the continuity of the Church of today with the Church of the ages be the badge of "party," then the A. C. U. may be called such. To most minds, however, such a line of action is not "party" but proof of legitimate "Church spirit"; not a dividing force but the only possible source of real unity.

The A. C. U. claims for Churchmen generally the freedom to do what the Church enjoins. In the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury, "We have no faith of our own: we have only the Catholic Faith of the Catholic Church enshrined in the Catholic Creeds."

The American Church Union invites the active interest and support of lay men and women, of the clergy and of societies and parish groups in all areas, which, when activity warrants, are formed into Regional Units.

The American Church Union Calls You!

It is an evangelical Call — because it is built upon the groundwork of the Gospels and the Teachings of our Lord.

It is a Catholic Call — because it proclaims the universality and oneness of the truth revealed by God and entrusted to His Church.

It is a Prophetic Call — because it challenges the faithful to witness, in the strength of deepest conviction, to the extension and unity of Christ's Holy Church.

There are five classes of A. C. U. membership: Life — \$100; Sustaining — \$10, Cooperative — \$5, Active — \$3, and Family — \$4. The payment of dues initiates membership. All memberships include a subscription to the A. C. U. NEWS and membership in both the National and Regional A. C. U. groups.

For further information or for additional copies of this folder, address: —

The Rev. Canon Albert J. duBois, *Executive Director*
American Church Union, Inc.

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